

# IN THESE TIMES

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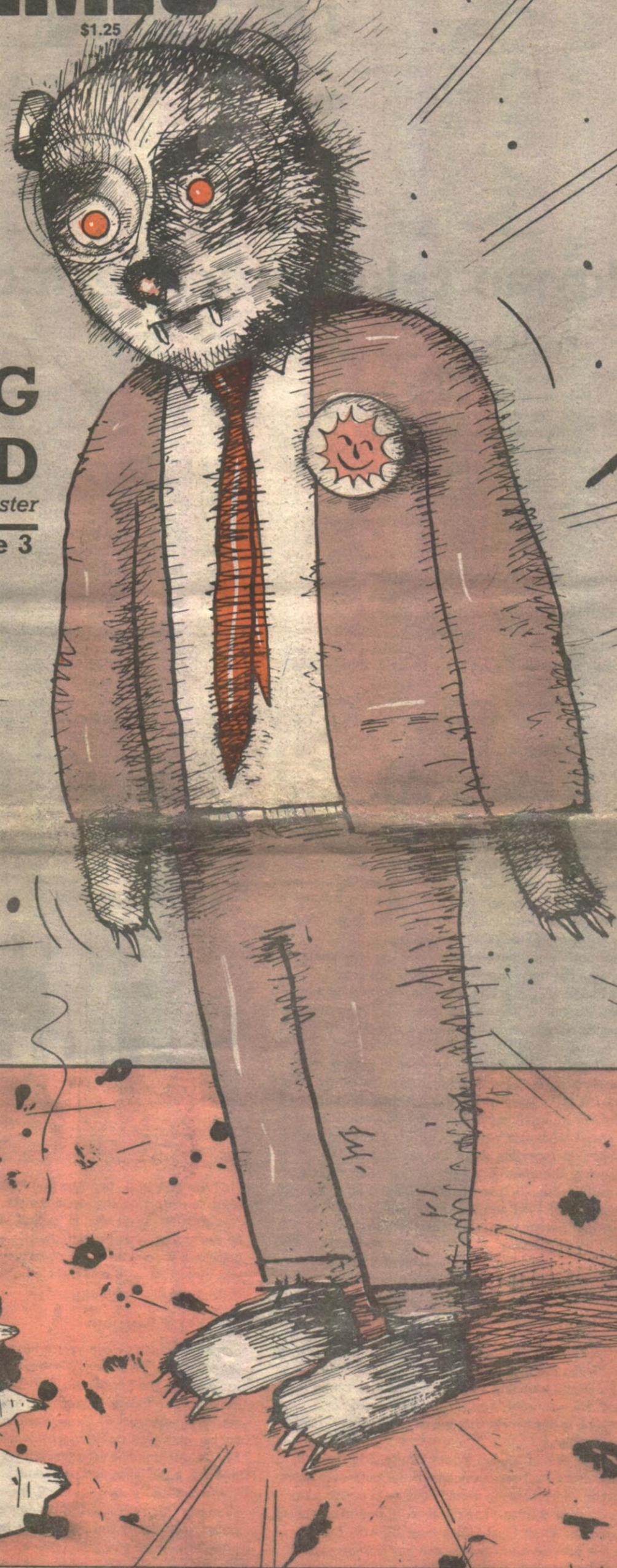
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## SOMETHING HAPPENED

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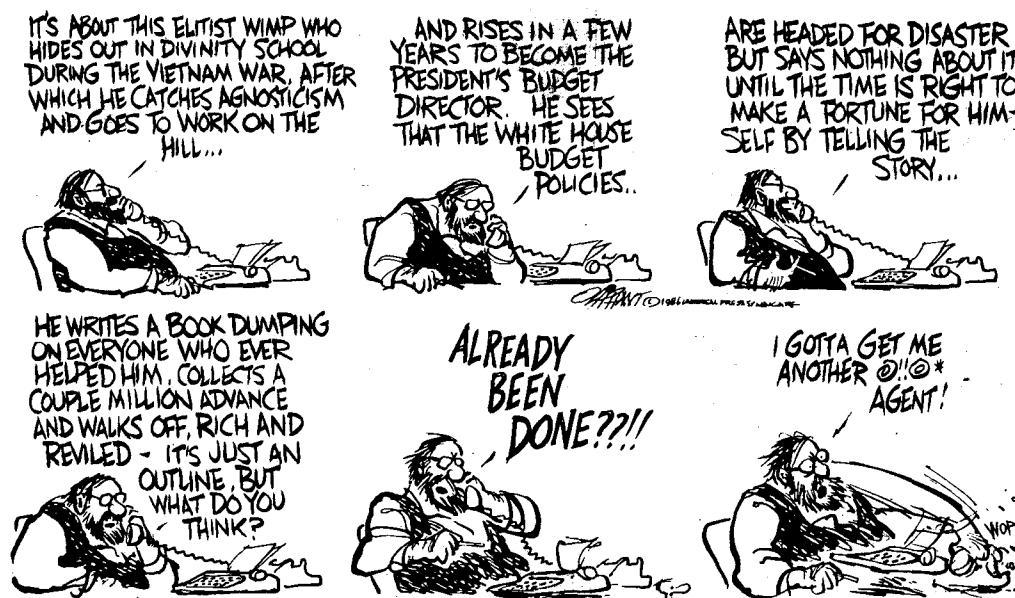
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# Stockman takes stock, grinds axes

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

Ever since Ronald Reagan has been in public office critics have raised doubts about his ability to govern. In his 1982 biography of Reagan, *Washington Post* reporter Lou Cannon described a man who lived half in the real world and half in "the heroic world of make-believe," as "passive" and "intellectually lazy," and as afflicted by "knowledge gaps." In *Deadly Gambits*, *Time* diplomatic correspondent Strobe Talbott described Reagan as having "little interest in the big issues of arms control or understanding of them."

In *The Triumph of Politics*, former administration Budget Director David Stockman directly questions Reagan's ability to make informed and forceful economic decisions. Stockman is the first high White House official to raise such doubts, and his book has created a considerable stir in the White House. In a speech defending the president, White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan recited Reagan's daily schedule hour by hour to show that he was, in fact, commanding the ship of state.

But how strong is the case that President Reagan is, in the words of one Washington reporter, an "absentee landlord"?

## Anecdotes rather than concepts

In *The Triumph of Politics*, Stockman constantly displays his contempt for Reagan. He first meets him when he is recruited to stand in for John Anderson, his old boss, during the preparations for Reagan's September 1980 debate with Anderson. Stockman, who had fancied the president to be the chief proponent of supply-side economics, is amazed that "the candidate only had the foggiest idea of what supply side was all about." When, during the warm-up, Reagan is asked a question about the upcoming MBFR (Mutual Balanced Force Reduction) talks, he can't handle it. "I've just lost that one completely," he tells his coaches.

During the transition period between the election and taking office, Stockman, who has been appointed budget director, discovers that Ed Meese is "the acting president." When he meets with the president, Reagan is "passive and serene." "He gave no orders, no commands; asked for no information; expressed no urgency."

As they face one legislative hurdle after another in getting the president's economic program passed the first year, Stockman finds that the president has little grasp of the issues. "Reagan's body of knowledge is primarily impressionistic; he registers anecdotes rather than concepts," Stockman writes. "The president did not have great depth of understanding about the tax code.... The president did not grasp the difference between constant dollars and current (inflated) dollars." When Stockman and others warned him during the summer of 1981 about looming deficits, he "did not believe in out-year budget projections and did not see the numbers."

But some of Stockman's stories do not confirm his overall characterization of Reagan. Reagan was neither passive nor serene when the issue was military spending or taxes. Reagan firmly rejected proposals to raise taxes or to reduce military spending even though most of his staff supported them. In August 1981, the Reagan staff met in Santa Barbara to discuss the looming deficit. When Stockman broached the possibility of reducing the deficit by cutting military spending, "the President didn't wait for others to respond. He was very firm: 'There must be no perception by anyone in the world that we're backing down an inch on the defense buildup.'"

In September 1981, Stockman and White House aide Richard Darman convinced other staff members that if the defense budget was untouchable the administration would have to propose a tax increase. They presented the tax increase as an option in a briefing paper to the president. At an Oval Office meeting with Reagan and other aides, the president firmly rejected any tax increase. "On the tax, no," Reagan said. "Delay would be a total retreat. We would be admitting that we were wrong. I'm just not going to stand for any more of this talk."

Reagan, it appears, never did master the details of his tax or spending cuts and was singularly unwilling to contemplate the effect of his tax cut on future deficits. But he did so partly from a conviction, shared with Rep. Jack Kemp and the other supply-siders, that growth itself was the only cure for deficits. Reagan was wrong to put his faith in Arthur Laffer's nostrums, but in doing so he did not display an inability to run his government.

Like other presidents, including Dwight Eisenhower and Richard

Nixon, he has chosen the issues on which to involve himself. In his first term, it was taxes; and now, lamentably, it is the *contras* and Khadafy.

Stockman's portrayal of Reagan, like Cannon's, makes one wonder how Reagan was able to stamp the California governorship and now the American presidency so clearly with his personality and program. America has had weak presidents like Warren Harding; and they are most clearly identifiable by the fact that they attracted all kinds of scoundrels who plunged their administrations into scandal; but Reagan's tenure, both in California and Washington, has been relatively scandal free. He may be relatively ignorant as a president, but neither Stockman nor the president's other critics have made a plausible case that he is a passive or weak president.

## A consensus politician

Stockman also criticizes Reagan for not sharing his obsession with budget cuts. Stockman portrays himself as a "revolutionary" who wanted to create a "minimalist state." "My blueprint for sweeping, wrenching change in national economic governance would have hurt millions of people in the short run," Stockman admits. Reagan's fault was that he could not go through with the Reagan—read Stockman—revolution.

Reagan, Stockman writes, "was a consensus politician, not an ideologue. He had no business trying to make a revolution because it wasn't in his bones," Stockman writes. When it came to making draconian cuts, Reagan "proved to be too kind, gentle and sentimental for that. He always went for hard-luck stories.... Despite his right-wing image, his ideology and philosophy always take a back seat when he learns that some individual human being might be hurt. That's also why he couldn't lead a real revolution in American economic policy."

# THE STORY INSIDER

Thank goodness, one says to himself after reading Stockman's plans to eviscerate the welfare state. Stockman's Reagan is a conservative rather than a "radical" or a "revolutionary." Whether he really is so is an open question—particularly on foreign policy—but there is no doubt that on economic questions the country was better off with him and Congress, rather than Stockman, making the final decisions.

## Deaver's Reagan

Some of Reagan's close White House aides, including chief speechwriter Tony Dolan, blame former staffer Michael Deaver for creating the impression that Reagan is passive and stupid. According to Dolan, Deaver had a special interest in conveying such an impression to Cannon and other key contacts. By doing so, he insinuated that the president's success nationally rested on his, Deaver's, public relations efforts rather than on his intrinsic merit as a politician and president.

In what he thought were off-the-record remarks to a group of Washington academics, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger posed very clearly the puzzle that is Reagan: "When you meet the president," Kissinger said, "you ask yourself, 'How did it ever occur to anybody that he should be governor, much less president?'" But Kissinger noted that Reagan's administration has maintained a remarkable continuity even though his entire White House staff left after his first term. "He has a kind of instinct that I cannot explain," Kissinger said.

Kissinger said that history might judge Reagan "a most significant president," but that it is "also possible that he will be seen as somebody who spent a lot of capital maintaining popularity for eight years." Leaving aside the question of whether he will have bettered humanity in those eight years, this captures the choices in assessing Reagan's impact as president.



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IN THESE TIMES

By Zoltán Grossman

**I**T COULD HAPPEN "ONCE IN A MILLION years." That has always been the stated opinion of Soviet officials on the chances of a major accident in the 32-year-old Soviet nuclear power program. The official fantasy, however, has been shattered by the radioactive cloud that settled over Russia's Ukraine region, Scandinavia and much of Eastern Europe after a fire and possible meltdown at the Chernobyl plant near Kiev destroyed one of the Soviet Union's 46 operating reactors.

Prior to the self-described "disaster," Soviet officials based their optimism on their reactor designs. When asked if a Three Mile Island accident could happen in the USSR, Yuri Markov, the deputy chief of the Soyuzatomenergoproekt agency said, "even if there were some problem at a Soviet station, it would not be fraught with such dangerous consequences because Soviet-designed steam generators can carry a far greater load of boiler water."

U.S. nuclear experts today echo Markov when asked if a Chernobyl catastrophe could happen in this country. They reply that most U.S. commercial reactor cores are moderated by water, not graphite, and have airtight concrete domes to contain radioactive leaks. There are two graphite reactors among the 99 nuclear power plants currently operating in the U.S. The only commercial graphite reactor, in Colorado, differs considerably from its Russian counterparts and supposedly poses less risk. The U.S. Energy Department also operates a graphite reactor in the state of Washington for military purposes. Regarding the potential for a major accident at such plants, the word from both Washington and Moscow has been unequivocal: it can happen over there, but not over here.

Much as the Pentagon is trying to break the public's "Vietnam syndrome," the nuclear industry has been hoping to reverse a "Three Mile Island syndrome" that began with the nuclear accident at this Pennsylvania site in 1979. Chernobyl may be a major blow to these efforts. Neither U.S. nor Soviet reactors could survive an explosion or severe meltdown (in which radioactive steam ruptures through the ground around the reactor). The day after the Chernobyl accident was made public, nuclear industry stocks plummeted. Investors switched to grain and livestock futures during the furious trading sessions that immediately followed. Many analysts assumed the Soviets would need to augment their own agricultural stores due to the contamination of an area known for its farm and livestock production.

Chernobyl is one of the flagships of the Soviet nuclear industry. Its four reactors, commissioned between 1977 and 1983, provided one-seventh of the country's nuclear generating capacity, which makes up 11 percent of the total electrical grid.

#### History of Soviet accidents

The Soviets experienced their first nuclear disaster in 1957—the explosion of a military waste dump near Kyshtym in the Ural Mountains. According to émigré scientists Zhores Medvedev and Leo Tumerman, the heavily-industrialized area was turned into a wasteland. The army destroyed houses in 30 evacuated villages to prevent their inhabitants from returning. At the time, local citizens complained that only Communist Party members were given radiation detection badges and choice relief supplies. Dangerous amounts of radiation apparently entered the food chain, causing damage to the environment. Some experts theorize this pattern after Kyshtym has begun again around Chernobyl, possibly spreading throughout the Ukraine and parts of Europe.

Two other incidents followed in 1963: a nuclear submarine disaster in Gorky and a Moscow research lab accident. A breeder reactor on the Caspian Sea caught fire in 1974 and a power reactor had serious problems in 1981. Accidents have plagued Soviet-built reactors in Finland and Czechoslovakia. Reactor deals have also



## Nuclear power's credibility meltdown

been negotiated with countries such as Cuba, India, Libya, Turkey and Iraq.

Despite this poor Soviet record, the American nuclear power industry can hardly strike an attitude of "safer-than-thou." Since 1960, there have been nuclear accidents in eight states, including Michigan, Alabama, New York and Pennsylvania, with Three Mile Island regarded as the most serious. Radioactive leaks have also been recorded in France, Britain, Japan and other countries. Chernobyl is the first such event that has reportedly led to mass evacuations.

The longstanding position of the Soviet Communist Party has been that nuclear power is safe when it's socialist. Without a profit mechanism, the reasoning goes, no incentive exists to cut corners on safety.

In the '60s, letters appeared in the Soviet press voicing concerns over radiation hazards, but engineers assured readers that reactors were safe. Another spate of nuclear safety articles in the '70s began asking questions that authorities felt they had to squelch. Controversies erupted on nuclear issues and a variety of other environmental questions—from river diversions to acid rain.

After Three Mile Island, Soviet authorities developed more sophisticated strategies to placate public fears. In an article in the Soviet central committee paper *Kommunist*, two prominent scientists endorsed the nuclear program but urged that plants be built in less-populated areas. The intellectual journal *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (April 11, 1979) called Three Mile Island a "serious, major accident." On the same day, however, the state paper *Izvestiya* took a different view, claiming that "...essentially minor unfavorable consequences were depicted in an extremely exaggerated form." It claimed that the Western antinuclear movement was a tool of profit-hungry oil companies.

The *Izvestiya* treatment of Three Mile Island is especially interesting. When an American plant leaked radioactivity, the Soviet authorities minimized the effects to the

Soviet public. For two decades after the 1957 disaster at Kyshtym, the CIA first withheld evidence and later downplayed its significance. The two nuclear establishments seem eager to cover each other's tracks, feeling that any substantial criticism may cast doubt on all nuclear technology—whether "capitalist" or "socialist." When confronted with a real Soviet accident, U.S. authorities blame the "closed" Soviet society, much as Soviet officials blame Western accidents on profiteering. Yet the U.S. nuclear establishment would like to be as secretive as its Soviet counterpart.

Various official responses after the latest incident are no exception. According to sources at Argonne Labs, the Department of Energy slapped a gag order on all its employees and contractors in the wake of Chernobyl. A Chicago TV news anchor complained about the blackout, saying the media has gotten as much information from the Americans as from the Soviets. It seems reasonable to doubt whether the complete truth at Chernobyl will be known to the peoples of either country.

#### Uranium makes strange bedfellows

During this decades-long mutual cover-up, nuclear cooperation has grown between the Western and Eastern blocs. Nuclear energy was one of the few areas of Soviet-U.S. cooperation to survive the collapse of détente. It shouldn't be surprising that uranium creates strange bedfellows. In 1980, a shipment of South African-mined uranium, enriched in the Soviet Union and processed in West Germany, arrived at the Ginna nuclear plant in New York—which itself had an accident the next year. When it comes to uranium, Moscow has no qualms about striking deals with NATO countries or rightist regimes.

Given the parallels between Western and Eastern nuclear power programs, why has there been no visible antinuclear movement in the USSR? The obvious answer would be secrecy and repression, which certainly

play a part, particularly given the military role of nuclear power. But a similar atmosphere prevails in Eastern Europe and Third World nations, where antinuclear movements are growing. Some East Europeans are influenced by the Western Green movements, whose rallies are beamed across the border on television. The movement is most pronounced in East Germany, where dissidents have developed a socialist environmentalism. They have combined critiques of class structure, militarism and ecological destruction in both the Western and Eastern blocs.

The Czech dissident group Charter '77 has funnelled information on nuclear accidents to the Austrian movement. Hungarian fishermen and uranium miners have pointed to radiation poisoning from Soviet-built installations (Hungary has been dependent on electricity from Chernobyl). And in Poland, the military regime announced plans for the country's first nuclear plant only a month after sending tanks against the environmentally-minded Solidarity union.

#### Gorbachov and Chernobyl

But the "closed society" is not the only reason for the lack of a Soviet movement. The Soviet education system reveres technology and has instilled blind faith in scientific "progress" among Soviet citizens. Lenin's electrification and Stalin's industrialization made a lasting impression.

Kenneth Bailes writes in his *Technology and Society under Lenin and Stalin* that "...the means—industrialization—came permanently to replace the end—egalitarianism—as it was originally expressed in the Bolshevik Revolution." Stalin used aviation feats in the '30s as later leaders used the space and nuclear programs to build political legitimacy.

By this process, the scientific/technical intelligentsia has slowly consolidated its power. By the '70s, about 80 percent of Politburo members had a higher technical background, in contrast to the predominance of lawyers in Western politics. As pointed out by the Hungarian sociologist Iván Szelényi and George Konrad in their book *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*, it is the "technocracy" and its institutions that have the ear of the Kremlin. The citizens allowed to voice limited dissent are also technocrats—including nuclear physicists—who have little interest in the grievances of ordinary Soviets. These are the dissidents recognized by the West.

This is not the best atmosphere for an antinuclear movement. The society's structure preempts any questioning of decisions on nuclear technology. The only exceptions may have been the Soviets directly affected—nuclear workers and their communities, anti-authoritarian technocrats or national minorities who (like in the West) are affected by uranium mining.

Chernobyl couldn't have come at a worse time for Mikhail Gorbachov, the foremost advocate of technocratic power. Rapid technical growth—including electrical, thermal and military reactors—is absolutely essential to Gorbachov's economic revitalization program. Because a challenge to nuclear power is a challenge to Soviet state power, there has been no Soviet antinuclear movement to speak of. This is also the reason the movement that is certain to arise now will be considered fundamentally dangerous.

The long-term "danger" is that the Soviet people, with their instilled faith in nuclear power shattered, will begin to question the role of other technologies—from computers to strip mining to genetic engineering. Such a critique could extend to a questioning of technocratic power and decision-making. It could even begin to challenge the Promethean values, held in both East and West, that promote the human manipulation of nature—even the powers of the sun—for material ends. The winds of Chernobyl may blow over us yet.

**Zoltán Grossman** is a Chicago-based freelance journalist who has visited nuclear communities from the Philippines to Hungary.



# INSHORT

Rachel Sternberg

## Absence of malice

If any European nation has cause to resent Middle East terrorism, it's Greece. After all, paranoia following last summer's TWA hijacking may have put a dent in the Greek tourist industry. Yet socialist Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu has expressed more firmly than perhaps any other head of government his disapproval of the Reagan administration's bombing of Libya. Papandreu called it "a blow against international legality," and said it was illogical for one country to enter into a state of war with another to wipe out terrorism, which he firmly opposes. Speaking in parliament, Papandreu said that terrorism in the Mediterranean stems from a failure to solve the Palestinian problem.

## Anti-communist plot

If presidential hopeful Pat Robertson said it, then it must be true: the *contras* are being supplied by South Africa. Hard evidence may be lacking, but the conservative Robertson actually is in a position to know. He heads the Christian Broadcasting Network, one of the largest private donors to the *contras*, and he hobnobs with *contra* leaders. According to the Pacific News Service, if there is a South Africa-*contra* link it would be through UNITA, the anti-communist guerrilla force fighting the Angolan government. This might explain a meeting one year ago between UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi and *contra* leader Eden Pastora in Lisbon. The two reportedly talked about forming a broad "anti-Marxist front."

## Republican revelations

Let Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., worry about selling former federal budget director David Stockman's memoirs. Terrel H. Bell now has published his revelations about President Reagan's first term—but more quietly. In the March issue of *Phi Delta Kappan*, the former Secretary of Education depicts the battle between pragmatic conservatives and extreme right-wing fanatics within the administration. The fanatics, he says, want to "abolish the Department of Education, all financial aid for students, all civil rights enforcement authority, all federal responsibility for education of any kind." They seem to have had some effect: the federal share in the cost of public education has dropped by one-third since 1980, according to the National Education Association. If this "off-the-wall" crowd had its way, Bell wrote, "American education would have been changed so dramatically that the system of public education as we know it today would no longer exist."

## Family fun

The left is trying to wrest back the banner of Family from the right. And rightly so. In the war of ideas, the New Right currently outspends the left by at least five to one and has appropriated fundamental American values such as family, work and patriotism to serve its narrow ideological interests. At least that's the view of the New York-based Institute for American Values (IAV), a new organization that hopes to follow in the footsteps of Norman Lear's prosperous People for the American Way, which acts as a watchdog against the religious right. The IAV has drafted a "family opportunity agenda" and also plans to link up academic research talent with community-based economic efforts. "This is not just a tactical move," explains co-director David Blankenhorn. "Progressives must start talking clearly about values and visions."

## Open Oregon

The Oregon Democratic Party has adopted what may be the most progressive foreign policy platform in the U.S. Among other things, the platform proffers a conception of war prevention based on a commitment to the rule of international law, phased multilateral disarmament and a transition in the U.S. to a "peace economy." It also calls for an end to the Star Wars project, an end to *contra* aid and an end to apartheid.

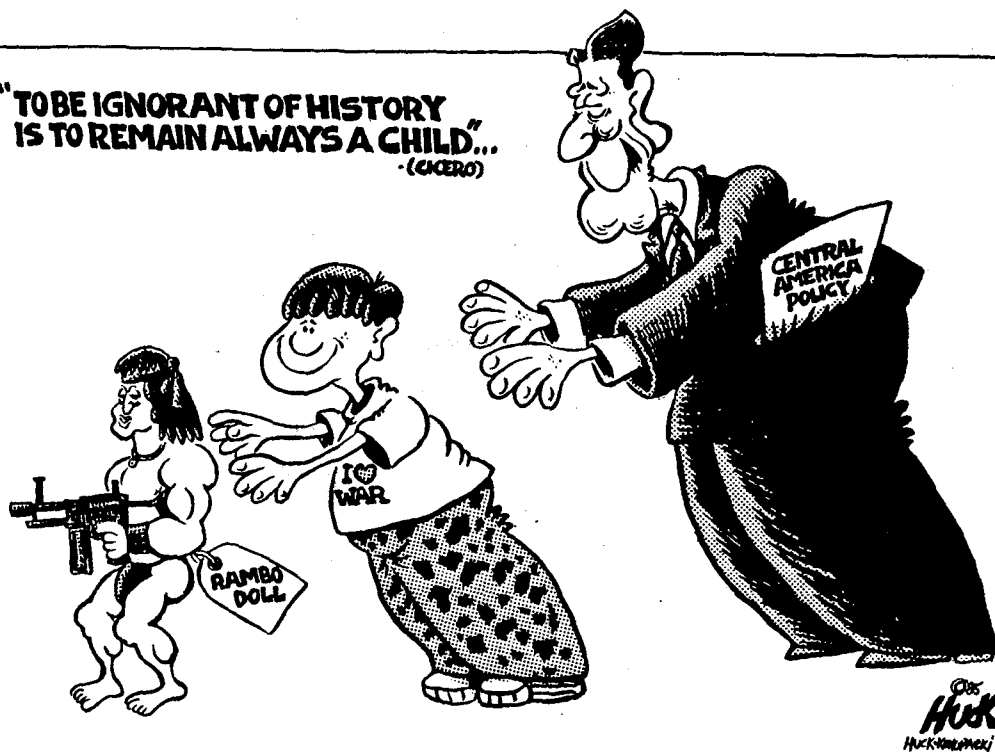
## Shifting Chicago

The Democratic machine in Chicago has been put to shame, if not to rest. It lost and Mayor Harold Washington won in the latest struggle for power. The victory of Washington's candidates in two runoff aldermanic elections has given him narrow control of the City Council. His opponents had used all the machinery they could in a mighty effort to win, particularly in the 26th ward, the most bitterly contested ward race anyone here can remember. The power shift should give Washington a less embattled fourth year in office.

## All in a day's work

The line between success and felony can be mighty fine. Take William H. Mellman, 38. His peers in Greenville, S.C., named him businessman of the year for 1985. Yet in that same year he was running a check-kiting scheme that defrauded a local bank of half a million dollars, a crime to which he recently pleaded guilty. Asked by U.S. District Judge William W. Wilkins if defrauding the bank was a tremendous pressure upon him, Mellman replied, "Yes it was, your honor." The judge freed him on \$100,000 bond.

"TO BE IGNORANT OF HISTORY  
IS TO REMAIN ALWAYS A CHILD..."  
—(CICERO)



## Governors keep National Guard out of Honduras

Until recently National Guard troops have been sent to Central America with little fanfare. No debate in Congress, no White House lobbying, no noisy vote. Since National Guard units fall under control of the 50 states during peacetime, the Pentagon need only ask their respective governors for permission to send Guards abroad.

This year, however, the governors of Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont and Washington have said they will not allow their Guard units to train in Honduras. Most cite concern for troop safety, since parts of Honduras are virtual battle zones. Others denounce the growing U.S. military presence in Honduras at a time when the Reagan administration is pushing to unseat the Sandinista government of neighboring Nicaragua. The administration, in response, is drafting legislation that would curtail the governors' power to veto deployment of National Guard troops abroad—a provocative move for an administration otherwise loudly intent upon handing power back to the states.

Military maneuvers, including counterinsurgency exercises, figure prominently in some Guard tours. Texas Guards last year trained with Honduran troops in simulated battle within a few miles of the Nicaraguan border. This year, comparable maneuvers will take place again, but no closer than about 25 miles of the border, supposedly far from the frequent clashes between *contras* and Sandinistas like the one in late March that the Reagan administration touted as a Nicaraguan "invasion" of Honduras. Still, Arizona's Gov. Bruce Babbitt has charged that the administration may be setting up situations in which National Guard members could be killed, thereby providing a pretext for a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua.

Even apparently benign assignments have proved controversial. One of these is a road project in north-central Honduras, a "safe" 120 miles from Honduras' borders with Nicaragua and El Salvador. National Guard officials say road-building is a goodwill mission to help civilians overcome geographical isolation.

Critics, however, charge that the roads match military standards and will eventually link bases within Honduras.

Some 9,000 Guards are slated to train this year in Central America, roughly half of them in Honduras. Since the end of the draft, the Pentagon has relied heavily on the National Guard and claims that foreign training is essential for combat readiness. The overseas training program has grown enormously. It now involves up to 40,000 troops training annually in more than 40 countries, up from a mere 1,200 a year in the early '70s.

In Oregon, where public debate has flourished, Adjutant General Richard A. Miller may have failed to blunt criticism when he gave this explanation of the Guard's purpose in Central America: "To train with Honduran troops, familiarize themselves with the topography and discover what problems there might be in traveling there so that if for any reason we were asked to go there again it wouldn't be like stepping into a cold shower."

—Beth Kaplan

## Local 1199 victors may unite hospital workers

The hospital and health care workers union—long praised for its militant, democratic unionism—has been wracked by power struggles since 1980. In 1984 it split. The 74,000-member New York Local 1199 remained within the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) under the leadership of Doris Turner. The other half formed the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees with Henry Nicholas as president. This month insurgents at Local 1199 who want to reunite with the National Union apparently ousted Turner. With a comparatively high turnout of 55 percent, the "Save Our Union" slate headed by Georgianna Johnson won 52 percent of the votes in a preliminary count.

Turner was once extremely popular with the largely black, female hospital service workforce. She recruited an ambitious black staff who resented the largely white left leadership that had long run the union,

and began to turn Local 1199 away from its "movement" character and left-wing politics. She also called a six-week strike in 1984. The union's longest, it was a disaster and contributed heavily to her downfall. The promised 5 percent raise never materialized; and although Turner said there were no givebacks, she signed the tentative agreement with the understanding that \$29 to \$45 million in benefit cuts would later go to help finance the contract. A final agreement is still pending. Turner had other troubles as well. Charges of fraud in her 1984 election led the Department of Labor to order this new balloting. A grand jury is investigating financial malfeasance, and union opponents have filed a federal racketeering lawsuit against Turner and other officials.

Johnson has limited experience, but Save Our Union needed a black woman to face Turner. She will draw on her

more experienced fellow officers to form a collective leadership, and turn to Nicholas and founder Leon Davis from the National Union. The new Local 1199 officers must resolve unsettled issues from the last strike and prepare for the June 30 expiration of that never-finalized contract. Save Our Union Vice President Dennis Rivera says the Johnson team will form committees in each health care institution and elect representatives to formulate bargaining goals. In contrast to Turner, he said, "We...will seek to involve members in the union and not do things by decree."

Eventually, despite legal obstacles, the new leaders of Local 1199 hope to reunite with the National Union. With the insurgent officers heading a union that makes up nearly half of the RWDSU membership in the U.S., RWDSU officials may be willing to let them go.

—David Moberg



By David Moberg

MILWAUKEE

IF THE ECONOMIC WOES OF THE "RUST belt" have pushed many Democratic politicians at the state and local level to accept business priorities, in national politics the same problems give a boost to an independent, more populist critique of corporate behavior. Ed Garvey, the leading Democratic primary candidate who will likely face conservative incumbent Republican U.S. Senator Robert Kasten, epitomizes this left alternative with a hard-hitting "peace and jobs" campaign.

In the September primary Garvey is running against former state Democratic Chairman Matthew Flynn, a liberal who has moved increasingly leftward in the course of the campaign, and the very conservative black state Sen. Gary George. Garvey appears to be well ahead in fundraising, endorsements, organization, television advertising, name recognition and apparent support. Many other Democrats had considered entering the race—including Milwaukee businessman Herbert Kohl—but didn't, partly because Garvey had such an early start. Conservative Democrats feared that Garvey was too anti-corporate—and too pro-labor. "He sure doesn't like rich people," one reportedly commented after hearing a Garvey speech.

Garvey, 46, made national headlines as the director of the National Football League Players Association from 1970-82. But he had already gained notoriety in the early '60s as president of the National Student Association (NSA). Active in civil rights work and opposition to the Vietnam war, he was criticized for accepting CIA funds for NSA. But Garvey ultimately completed his NSA stint. Garvey, who was born into an Irish Catholic family in the homogeneously middle-class town of Burlington, Wis., then returned to his home state to study law. He briefly worked for a Minneapolis law firm well connected to that state's liberal politicians before his football stint, and returned to Wisconsin again in 1983 to serve as deputy attorney general.

Garvey's NFL Players experience and strong labor sympathies made him popular with the state's generally liberal unions. "People in the labor movement view Garvey as one of their own," state AFL-CIO lobbyist Darryl Holter says. "There's this tendency to try to run our own candidates." But Garvey has picked up endorsements from national peace and liberal groups (for example, the National Committee for an Effective Congress), various state leaders including Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier, and "populist" Sens. Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Paul Simon (D-IL).

#### Understanding money and power

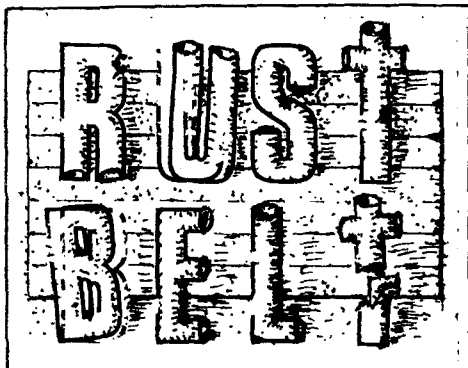
Garvey says that his football negotiating experience taught him how "to take on very powerful economic institutions, the National Football League and the networks, and beat them. The same skills you need to do that are the skills to take on the multinationals and the people who try to dictate things in Congress. You have to understand power and money and how it operates."

Campaigning throughout the state, Garvey makes it bluntly clear that he sees big corporations taking over the economy and heavily influencing government, leading to economic distress for workers, farmers and small businesses in states like Wisconsin. He hits a responsive chord among even some businessmen with his warnings about corporate mergers and takeovers that have shifted control of many Wisconsin businesses out of state in recent years, often with disastrous consequences.

"I'm banking on the fact that Wisconsin is a progressive state," Garvey says. "I want to talk about enforcing the antitrust laws, the dangers of multinationals taking over corporations and dictating policy, the danger of corporations trying to take over the farms, what military spending is doing to interest rates, and the overvalued dollar. People are beginning to realize that they're losing control of their lives, that the state is losing control. That can only be addressed at the federal level."

While local politicians are figuring out

how best to play the game of competing with other states to retain or gain business, Garvey is in a position to denounce "this great bidding war." "It's a war we have to lose," he says, "because we're a high-quality-of-life state with one of the best educational systems in the country. In order to maintain that quality of life we have to have high taxes. The business community is saying to states like Wisconsin that unless you reduce the personal income tax or property tax..., you can't compete for jobs. We should be trying to develop national standards that will put Wisconsin in a fair game instead of giving tax advantages to corporations that leave Wisconsin and open up in the sunbelt. Have a tough plant closing law that says you not only have to negotiate in good faith with the workers and talk with



## WISCONSIN

# Ed Garvey's new democratic populism



Ed Garvey hopes to harness the spirit of LaFollette in his bid for a seat in the U.S. Senate.

the community but also pay retraining costs and health and welfare benefits for your workers until they find another job. This takes away the incentive to move."

For businesses that shift work overseas, Garvey says, "There we just have to get tough and tax those products coming in [from runaway plants] at whatever the difference would be at the cost of producing them in this country. We just have to tell the multinationals that they have a responsibility to this country just like the workers who've been asked over the years to fight the wars and pay the taxes."

Garvey is also willing to manage international trade closely, even though he favors a strong government role to make U.S. industry more competitive without trade restrictions. "We have to be competitive without driving wages down," he argues. "We have to be more efficient. We have to spend more on research and development. Now a disproportionate amount is spent on the military. We've got to say the government has a role to play in developing products and techniques that will help us to be more

competitive but always with the commitment that we're not going to become more competitive by forcing people to work at the minimum wage."

#### The people's agenda

Garvey argues that government economic policy can minimize pressure for protectionism, some of which now stems from years of an overvalued dollar. Yet he thinks quotas, tariffs and other protection may be necessary on a short-term basis.

"We've got to face another issue," Garvey says. "Are we as a nation committed to improving the standard of living or are we going to continue to watch this trend of lower wages and higher profits and an international race to the bottom to compete with Koreans and Haitians? We have forgotten the *raison d'être* of the Wagner Act [the New Deal legislation encouraging unionization], to spend our way out of the depression. Now with wage cuts, all of a sudden we've got people who can't buy television sets or automobiles, can't take vacations. You've got this two-tier economy with massive numbers of people falling out of the middle class."

Garvey also attacks the 1984 farm legislation as leading to the demise of one-fourth of the state's dairy farmers and farm-related hardships that hit small towns as well as

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A Garvey-Kasten race would offer voters a sharp contrast of "progressive" or populist views and Reaganite right-wing politics. In the Democratic primary, the ideological choices are more muddled. Although Flynn, Garvey's strongest Democratic primary foe, started his campaign on a more conservative note, he now voices few differences on major issues. Flynn is less likely to criticize corporations and somewhat less

## Garvey's program for economic revival is tied to a call for a new foreign policy.

willing to resort to trade protection, but overall he now takes positions on the left of the Democratic Party. He attacks Garvey primarily as a candidate of "special interests," hoping that the union support will be a millstone around Garvey's neck. Some observers question how firmly Flynn stands on some of these issues. In any case, with less money and momentum now, Flynn seems likely to slip farther behind.

Garvey has started TV advertising that identifies him with small-town integrity and hard work and links Kasten to multinationals, banks and Sunbelt interests. One sticky point for Kasten certainly will be his support for depreciation allowances for oil companies but no deductions for state income tax, which would seriously hurt many Wisconsin residents. In one ad, Garvey says Kasten thinks middle-income people should shoulder the government burden, but working people paid taxes, fought wars and built

the corporations and banks: now it's time banks and corporations pay their share. The tag line calls Garvey a new senator—then with special emphasis—for Wisconsin.

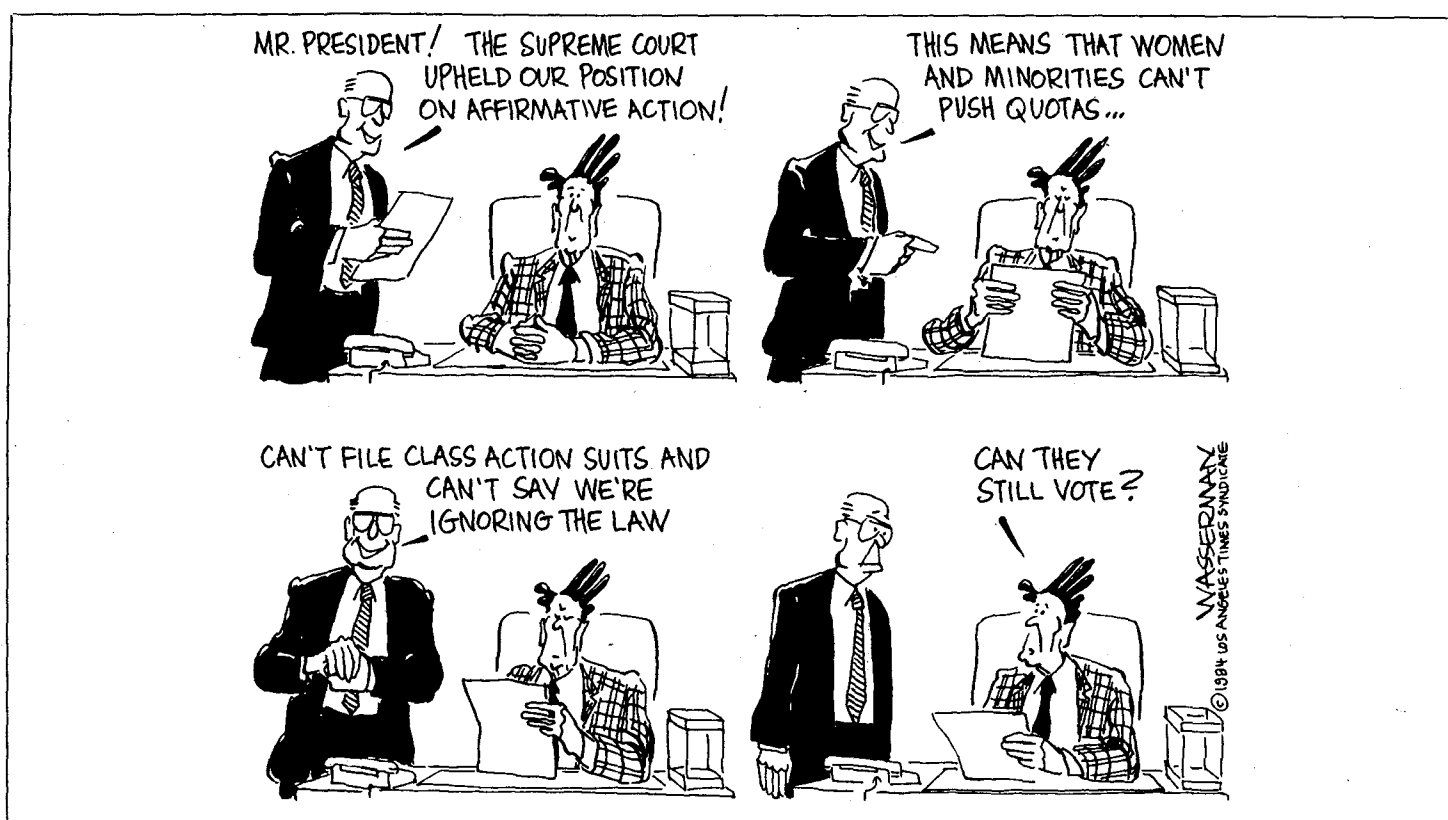
Garvey strategists believe Kasten is vulnerable on the issue of his character (a drunk-driving arrest last December was the latest in a series of questionable actions) and on his pro-military views (for example, the state voted early by a three-to-one margin in favor of the nuclear freeze, against which Kasten voted twice). But Kasten, who narrowly won in the 1980 Reagan sweep, will also be hurt by the sad state of the farm and industrial economy in the rust belt and a sense of distrust of growing corporate power that Garvey is trying to tap.

Identifying with the state's "progressive" tradition of the LaFollettes (but similar to what is called the new democratic populism), Garvey has shifted the Wisconsin rust belt political debate by trying to change the rules of the game rather than figuring out how to play the current, unfair game. It is an option only available at the national level.



## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

## Quota hiring: a tale of three cities



By Leonard Sykes Jr.

## CHICAGO

**T**HIS YEAR MARKS THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY of a federal court ruling that mandated a racial quota hiring policy for the Chicago Police Department. But black police in Chicago and elsewhere are quickly discovering there is little to celebrate.

Indeed, it seems the fervent hope of Chicago's late machine-boss, the honorable Mayor Richard J. Daley, has been answered by the unlikely source—the Reagan administration.

On April 2, 1976, four months after Judge Prentice H. Marshall issued his landmark ruling, a visibly upset Daley told the press: "Some court, some place, some day will have enough courage to say that [affirmative action] isn't an American way of proceeding in a court of justice. Some court, somewhere, is going to see the injustice of it."

Daley, of course, isn't around to see it, but the Reagan administration has begun to implement a belated response to his hope.

In a sharp departure from its previous stance, the Justice Department has campaigned to invalidate decade-old racial quotas and affirmative action programs. Those who stand to lose most are the women, blacks and Hispanics who found jobs in police and fire departments across the nation as a direct result of the Justice Department's previous "friend of the court" intervention.

Black groups are accusing Reagan of "turning back the clock" on civil rights' gains. Several Republican mayors are insisting that the White House, by failing to curb the department's actions, has reneged on its promise to restore full rights to the states. And at least one of those voices, Republican Mayor William Hudnut of Indianapolis, has accused Reagan of allowing the Justice Department to "open up old wounds" that threaten the very principles of the party of Lincoln.

Nevertheless, the Justice Department, apparently with blessing from the White House, is holding a steady course in its efforts to dismantle racial hiring quotas.

The department's efforts were given a boost two years ago when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on a controversial case in Mem-

phis, Tenn. The high court ruled that Memphis should follow a policy of "last hired, first fired" in a budget-cutting move to reduce the city's payroll. That policy, of course, favored older white employees with seniority while leaving city officials with no choice but to turn blacks toward the unemployment line.

Not long after that decision, William Bradford Reynolds, assistant attorney general for civil rights, issued a memorandum that spelled out the department's goal and direction for affirmative action. Reynolds told officials in some 50 municipalities that it was time they modified their affirmative action programs by eliminating hiring quotas for women, blacks and Hispanics.

How does Reynolds' rhetoric translate into new policy for the Justice Department?

The answer can be found in the department's legal maneuvering in the city of Indianapolis.

## Indiana turnarounds

Last year Reynolds launched legal action against this traditional Republican stronghold to force the city to end its program of

racial quotas in the police and fire departments. But there was incredible irony in that action.

Indianapolis is one of a handful of Northern cities where the Ku Klux Klan has had considerable influence in local politics, influence dating back as far as 1920.

Politically, Mayor Hudnut has chalked up a strikingly conservative profile for himself, first with a straight Republican voting record in Congress in the '70s and later with staunchly conservative posturing as president of the National League of Cities. Yet despite that tradition, Hudnut and his city have made gains in thrusting blacks into the mainstream.

Lately, however, Hudnut has found himself at odds with the Reagan administration on the issue of racial quotas. Shortly after the Justice Department's actions, Hudnut charged them with embarking on a dangerous course. "[Their] position," he said, "is wrong morally, it is probably wrong legally and it is also wrong politically. What they're doing represents a great step backward in the struggle of minorities and women to achieve mainstream and equal status in our society."

Yet most cities in the nation with large black and Hispanic populations have committed themselves—either by court action or conscience—to increasing minority representation in police and fire departments. The Justice Department's actions in Indianapolis could prove to be the most significant civil rights litigation in recent years. The city's refusal to abandon quota hirings almost guarantees that it will be decided before the Supreme Court.

The Justice Department's goal is establishing affirmative action programs only for specific victims of discrimination. Such programs, according to the Justice Department, would include no preferential treatment for any racial group.

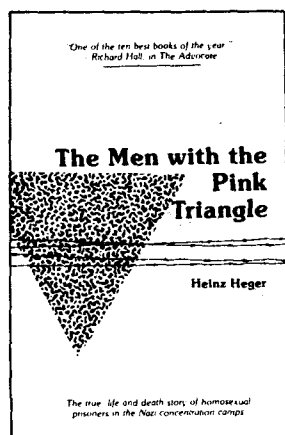
But civil rights experts say this is an incorrect interpretation of the Supreme Court's ruling in Memphis. Barry Goldstein, a lawyer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund, charges the department's interpretation imperils all existing affirmative action plans. "They'll be scouring the nation now looking for affirmative action plans to attack," he says.

He says the Memphis decision provides ammunition for both sides of the debate. "The administration says this decision bans most affirmative action. Others say it's limited to layoffs situations where there is no finding of an intent to discriminate."

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## EUROPE

# Luttwak reinventing crusades

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**W**HILE RONALD REAGAN, in his role as president, demonstrates how easy it is to work the American public into a patriotic fury, not only against Libya, but also against France, European leaders are being incited by American strategists to gird for a new crusade of Christendom against Islam.

The incitement is usually indirect. By aligning itself ever more one-sidedly with Israel against the Palestinians and involving NATO allies in the military approach to "international terrorism," the Reagan administration is by its deeds promoting hostility and conflict between Arab and Islamic peoples on one side and Western Europeans on the other.

But the incitement may also be verbal, as shown by interviews in the Italian press shortly after the April 15 bombing of Libya with Edward Luttwak, one of the Reagan administration's most influential strategists. Luttwak told the Italians they must choose between a new crusade against the Islamic Arab world or else face economic decline and even "desertification."

Author of numerous works on the art of war, as well as *Coup d'Etat*, a "practical handbook" on how to change governments in Africa, the Hungarian-born Luttwak has made a major contribution to wooing the Pentagon away from mere administrative concerns and into the heady sphere of strategy and geopolitics. A Pentagon consultant based at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, Luttwak's counsels have helped harmonize U.S. and Israeli strategic thinking. His taste runs to devices of the age of Europe's imperial conquest, such as the use of naval forces for "power projection."

Back before the 1980 election, Luttwak assured Europeans that, contrary to appearances, Ronald Reagan was very interested in strategy. So Luttwak speaks as someone whose ideas may be taken up by the president of the United States.

In interviews with the weekly *L'Espresso* and the daily *La Repubblica*, Luttwak explained his theory: Arab terrorism is a revival of Barbary Coast piracy. Both are a product of eternal Moslem hostility to the infidel. This Arab low-level violence is worse for the economies of the Mediterranean than all-out war. Therefore, southern Europe must make war in the form of a new crusade against Arabs, or sink into decline.

"The Khadafy phenomenon is for us the symptom of a general problem, which is reappearing after about two centuries: the Mediterranean is the frontier between two different civilizations, a Christian coast that allows differences of opinion and an Islamic one where whoever attacks Western civilization always enjoys a certain moral status," Luttwak explained. He admonished Italy to remember that Arab pirates "caused more damage than the tragic Thirty Years War." This important adviser to the world's major nuclear superpower has a theory that all-out war is better for the economy than low-level violence.

### Thirty Years War was okay?

Before the colonial era, the cities of northern Europe were destroyed in the Thirty Years War and its regions devastated, but afterward there was a peace treaty that allowed everything to be repaired and rebuilt.

"As always, the major war zones afterward became zones of great growth and development," declared Luttwak. Southern Europe did not share in this windfall. Instead, it was subjected only to the raids of a handful of Moslem pirates, who (according to Luttwak) sent the inhabitants fleeing and turned vast stretches of coast into a wasteland. "Today the same thing is happening: a few terrorists with two or three little bombs, and Greece loses a billion dollars in tourist trade."

Luttwak has decided that everybody was wrong to attribute terrorism to the Arab-Israeli conflict, or even to East-West rivalry. The real cause is Islam. "I am not a student

civilization. This is similar to the interpretation of Russian prudence and moderation being voiced by Israeli hawks who want to go ahead and make war with Syria. Italy's pro-Israeli Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini has also stressed the possibility of enlisting Moscow in a common effort against terrorism.

Mikhail Gorbachov has reiterated Soviet willingness to cooperate internationally against terrorist criminals. This is nothing new to serious experts. In an interview last year in *Die Tageszeitung*, a foremost European expert in antiterrorism, Christian Lochte, chief of the Hamburg constitutional protection (*Verfassungsschutz*) office, re-



of Islam, but I know that it is prohibited for a Moslem to make peace with non-Moslems," Luttwak told the Italians. Islam, he said, is not a "passive" religion like Buddhism and Judaism, but "active. It wants to save humanity, just as Christianity once did."

Luttwak concluded that Europeans have no choice but to either "close their borders with the most rigid severity" or else resign themselves to being ruined by the new piracy. The movement of all Arabs should be closely controlled. "An Egyptian passport should not be considered like a Danish one" at European airports. As for so-called "moderate Arabs," they are only using a "double language." All Arabs must be held in check. "Unless this crusade is launched there will be chaos," warned Luttwak. "Southern Europe will again be economically weakened by pirates. Between Greece, Spain, France and Italy, the economic losses in tourist revenue caused by Arab terrorists already runs into the billions of dollars. You are risking a new desertification."

At the same time, Luttwak criticized the April 15 bombing "from the right" as inadequate. Luttwak's opinion was that the U.S. should invade Libya with the Marines, arrest Khadafy and in case of resistance destroy the Libyan capital of Tripoli.

Luttwak seemed confident that this would not lead to war with the Soviet Union, since the Russians, he said, agree with us that Khadafy is outside the pale of

## Luttwak believes Europe must choose between a new crusade against the Islamic Arab world or economic decline.

called that the Baader-Meinhof "Red Army Faction" had to withdraw from the Middle East after 1977 partly as a result of increased Soviet influence on the Palestinians.

### Russia: white Christian power

This moderating, antiterrorist influence of Moscow inspires some conservatives to hope that the fight against "international terrorism" may be used successfully to cut Soviet ties to the Third World by reviving Russia's traditional identity as a white Christian power. This is the sort of project that can excite the ultra-conservative Catholic right, with its dreams of undoing the revolutions of the past two centuries and returning to a Christendom of elites and lower classes that know their place. Such a fantasy implies a revival of religious nationalism that would explode the Soviet Union into

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antagonistic Christian and Moslem parts. This is the sort of futurist fiction that some rich and powerful Americans like to hear when spun out by anti-Communist exiles from mysterious countries East of the Iron Curtain.

A recent example of revival of the Christian crusading spirit should give pause. It occurred in Lebanon, where the Maronite Christians of the Phalange and the Guardians of the Cedars set out to "control" the Moslem Arabs of their region. But although secretly armed by Israel and aided by rightist European mercenaries, they have ended up with their country in a shambles, occupied by Syria in the north and Israel in the south.

Southern Europeans do not seem at all in the mood for a revival of the Crusades. The vast majority of Greeks, Italians and Spaniards have no quarrel with the Arabs across the water and want only to develop peaceful business with them. They have watched with alarm as the Arab-Israeli conflict has spread into Lebanon and from Lebanon across the Mediterranean.

At 5:00 p.m. of the day the U.S. bombed Tripoli, Libya fired two missiles at a U.S. radar station on the nearby Italian island of Lampedusa. The missiles made a tremendous splash just off the coast of the island, whose 4,700 inhabitants live mainly from fishing and the vacation trade. After spending the night in the underground caves where they had escaped U.S. bombing in World War II, the inhabitants all turned out the next day for an angry demonstration demanding that both Khadafy and Reagan leave them in peace.

"As for which one is crazier, Reagan or Khadafy, look, I don't know," the head of Lampedusa's municipal council, Giovanni Fragapane, 42, told *L'Espresso*. "I don't want to play Pontius Pilate, but—and this goes for me and all the people of Lampedusa—we feel like condemning both of them equally." What upsets the islanders most is that reports of the missile shots have frightened away all the tourists and vacationers. In fact, they already began canceling when the U.S. Sixth Fleet began strutting around the Gulf of Sidra.

The 14 Communists and four Christian Democrats on Lampedusa's council have unanimously asked that the base be turned over to the Italian Navy. "We don't want that American base here any more. It attracts reprisals like honey attracts flies," the 25-year-old Communist deputy mayor said. The Lampedusans never asked to be defended by the Americans and wish they would go away.

The only "Libyan threat" has been a Libyan offer to buy real estate for holiday development, which the Lampedusa council successfully blocked last December.

But the Lampedusans want to promote friendship with the Libyan people, and are confident this would be possible if Reagan and Khadafy would take their quarrel elsewhere.

Within the Italian elites, however, things are less simple. Ten years ago, the advocates of befriending the rulers of the desert country Italy had spent a generation trying to conquer and colonize seemed to be getting their way. A large chunk of Libyan capital was welcomed to help FIAT carry through its modernization. Ever since 1977, Col. Muammar Khadafy was officially invited to Italy, but no government ever dared go through with the visit. Khadafy was left in his desert country to nurse his Bedouin fantasies of the West. The anti-Arab faction of Italian intelligence frightened President Sandro Pertini with a rather implausible report that Khadafy has sent assassins after him.

Now Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti's policy of retaining friendly relations with all Arab states is coming under constant heavy attack. FIAT is trying to buy back its stock from the Libyans. Such acts are steps toward building the new barrier against Arabs recommended by Luttwak. The new crusade would not be for religious reasons, nor even for the tourist trade. What is most important to the ruling elites, such as the Agnelli family of FIAT, is to keep up with American technology. For this, they are ready to pay the price of Star Wars and whatever crusades may be proclaimed by the American empire.



By James B. Goodno

MANILA

**G**REGORIO CEDANA, LAST MINISTER of information under deposed dictator Ferdinand Marcos, was doomed before the February revolt ousted his employer. Cedana was credited with Marcos' campaign slogan: "Tested in Crisis."

Instead of reassuring voters, the slogan reminded Filipinos of the economic crisis that had paralyzed the Philippines for the last two and a half years of Marcos' 20-year reign. Marcos may be gone, but the crisis remains for his successor Corazon Aquino.

"Now the Filipinos are free—politically," said Aquino recently. "But they remain shackled by the economic legacy of Marcos, the net effect of his reckless borrowing and profligate spending. It is a longer and humdrum struggle that now begins, but it is no less heroic, for the Filipino people, after retrieving their home, will start to rebuild it. The old tenant took virtually all the fixtures after undermining the foundations and mortgaging the property."

That struggle to rebuild will be difficult. Not only is the new government dogged by the legacy of Marcos—indebtedness and near bankruptcy caused by government corruption—but the government suffers from serious internal splits over foreign loans, development strategies and other questions. The government, which is drawn mainly from industrial and landed elites, may also come into conflict with popular sectors, which feel they are inadequately represented.

Statistics reveal the depths the economy sank to under Marcos. Out of a national labor force of 20 million, government statistics prepared under Marcos showed three million unemployed and 7.5 to eight million underemployed. (Independent analysts and Aquino government officials believe these figures are low.) Inflation in 1984 ran at 50.3 percent and in 1985 at 23.1 percent. The value of the peso plunged from less than 10 to the dollar in 1983 to more than 20 to the dollar now. In 1984 the economy shrank by more than 5 percent when all other Association of South-East Asian Nations member states experienced growth. Last year the shrinkage continued at a rate of 4 percent. This year little or no growth is expected.

Filipino workers are also paid less than those in neighboring nations. In all of Asia only Bangladesh's workers are lower-paid. Though poverty is by no means a Filipino monopoly, nearby nations have measurably higher standards of living. The widespread conditions of hunger and starvation that exist in sugar-growing parts of Negros have been nearly eliminated elsewhere in the region.

Why is the Philippines plagued by such a problem?

"It's very simple," says conservative economist Omar Cruz, the chief of economic forecasting at the Center for Research and Communications, a private think tank close to the right wing of the new government. "Our leader was not as benevolent as other leaders."

### Marcos mismanagement

Cruz is very optimistic about the Philippines' economic future. He says that Marcos ran the country as if it were a poorly managed private corporation. Greed, corruption, mismanagement and crony capitalism caused the economic crisis, according to Cruz and other rightists.

The right as a rule does not question the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) or other foreign creditors in the country. They rarely criticize foreign investors, although they do say that local capitalists should be given priority. They cite the apparent success of such newly developed nations as South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore as proof that countries can prosper using loans and capital from foreign sources.

Leftists like Randolph David of the University of the Philippines counter by pointing to the lack of political democracy, the con-

# THE PHILIPPINES

## Will islands' freedom be merely economic?

tinued exploitation of labor, the grossly inequitable distribution of wealth and the mounting debt problems that make these nations economically unstable. David calls these countries examples of the "developmental dictatorship" model.

"The Philippines' experiment with developmental dictatorship is the first in South-east Asia to undergo the type of crisis more often seen in Latin America," wrote David in a recently published essay. "But the economic vulnerability and the vicious cycle of debt exemplified by the Philippines are actually basic features of almost all economies in the region. The Philippines today, the rest of Southeast Asia tomorrow."

The Philippines shares with its neighbors in East and Southeast Asia an indebtedness to the IMF, World Bank and ADB. Of the Asian countries, only South Korea, which owes about \$50 billion, has a larger debt than the Philippines' \$30 billion.

Leftists and most nationalists say the IMF, the World Bank and ADB reflect the needs and interests of their funders, the developed nations of the West and Japan. As such, they do not promote the needs of the mostly Third World debtor states.

Aquino rejects the notion of a developmental dictatorship, favoring instead political freedom as a motivating force for economic development. But at the same time she does not strongly oppose the institutions upon which Marcos and the other dictators and autocrats in the region were, or are, dependent.

Aquino's Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin and Central Bank Governor Jose Fernandez were in Washington last month to seek the release of funds lent the Philippines by the IMF and World Bank under agreements with the old regime. The agreements mandated strict adherence to various austerity measures.

Recent reports indicate that the country may receive a new \$300 million loan to revive the economy. Such a loan would increase the debt and increase IMF and World Bank influence here. In recent years the country has had to borrow money to pay the interest on existing debts.

Aquino recently accepted a new \$100 million loan from the ADB. The loan will be used to complete joint projects launched during the Marcos period that went uncompleted when the Philippine government could not raise matching funds.

Aquino said the ADB loan signaled a "new optimism" in the financial community about the Philippines' future.

"I would like to believe that this new optimism is grounded in the new environment of freedom and justice that the people's revolution created," said Aquino in accepting the ADB loan. "That would show that the old notion has been discarded—that the loss of liberty is an acceptable price for the promise of progress."

### Selective repayment

Not all Filipinos accept the idea that new loans are the answer to the economic problems, or the proper resource for development. Economic Planning Minister Solita Monsod recommended a selective repudia-

## Marcos may be gone, but the crisis remains for Corazon Aquino, his successor.



The Marcos legacy puts the Philippines between a rock and a hard place.

tion of foreign loans during a recent cabinet meeting. Many ministers agreed with her that loans which had not actually helped the country should not be repaid. Ongpin and Fernandez rejected this idea in favor of maintaining smooth relations with the creditors. They hope that the country's new-found respectability will allow for an easing of terms, making the debt somewhat less onerous.

Another debate within the new government is over the type of development to promote. The right favors a market-based development without ties to social reforms. The left favors a government-backed industrialization, land reform and the promotion of an agricultural sector for domestic consumption rather than export.

One prominent left critic is Jose Maria Sison, the founder and former chairman of the banned Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which with its New People's Army is perhaps the most powerful organized force in the countryside. "Jimmy Ongpin wants to return to a biblical paradise of apples, oranges and mangos," said Sison shortly after his recent release from prison. "He wants to return to the Garden of Eden." The Communists are not represented in the new government but are certainly a force to be reckoned with, especially in the area of agrarian reform. During the campaign, Aquino made vague promises on agrarian reform. To date, however, there have been no steps taken to implement a land reform program.

Agrarian reform poses significant problems for the country, owing to the limited land currently available for the large rural population, the different needs in different locations and, again, the contrasting interests within the government. There are debates between those preferring free enterprise in the countryside and those supportive of greater cooperation and planning.

Perhaps the most difficult conflicts facing the new government in the realm of economics are those brought on by class differences. The new government still does not include direct representatives of the majority of Filipinos in policy-making positions. Labor Minister Augusto Sanchez and a few others are sympathetic to the demands of mass-based organizations, and as such have been tagged as radicals by their foes. Agriculture Minister Ramone Mitra has included the leftist Movement of Philippine Peasants (KMP) in existing programs, using the KMP as a conduit for various funding projects. But these ministers do not come from the mass organizations or from the classes they represent. With the common enemy gone, national unity may become more elusive than it was before Marcos fled. As mass organizations on the left push for serious social change the likelihood of conflict will increase. A sign of labor's continued restiveness can be seen in the many continuing strikes since the new government took power.

To labor's advantage, the new government has promised the right to strike and to organize. Some in government, Sanchez among them, are also promoting profit-sharing schemes and plans for some workers' control. Such plans are unlikely to become policy, but have broadened the scope of economic discussion.

Still, economic optimism at this point lies with the right. "The political changes have hastened recovery," said Cruz. "We used to talk about recovery taking five to six years if the right policies were implemented and followed. Now, with the increase in confidence and the new leadership, we can see recovery in three years' time."

The left does not share that optimism. "Sad to say, but I'm afraid that at the rate we are going, I don't see much hope for long-term progress," said left economist Jun Enriquez. "Cory is in flux. But in due time she'll have to go one way or another. On political aspects she seems to be drawn a little to the left. On economics, I'm not so optimistic she can be drawn to nationalist positions."

James B. Goodno is *In These Times'* correspondent in the Philippines.





## THE CARIBBEAN

*Sweeping reforms in Haiti are thwarted by a legacy of problems. Inset: a studio at Radio Soleil.*

# A new storm watch in Haiti

By Anne-christine d'Adesky

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

**N**EARLY THREE MONTHS AFTER Jean-Claude Duvalier's overthrow, strikes and demonstrations continue to mark Haiti's move toward democracy, a transition that recently became violent when a clash between crowds and police in Port-au-Prince left seven dead. A major issue throughout this period has been the people's steady loss of faith in the provisional ruling council, or National Council of Government (CNG). Growing numbers maintain that the CNG cannot control an increasingly volatile situation. As yet, no date has been announced for the promised elections.

Haiti today suffers multiple problems. "Baby Doc" left the public coffers empty, depleting the country of millions in foreign aid and leaving Haiti with a huge oil debt to Mobil Oil. Government bureaus remain disorganized, faced with the legacy of corruption and mismanagement of public funds by Duvalier's ministers. The now-legal trade unions, comprised of an alphabet soup of workers' groups, are unable to negotiate contracts on such shifting terrain.

A food crisis has been alleviated with loans from international relief agencies, but the basic problems of nearly total illiteracy (98 percent), unemployment, poor health care and the decline of natural resources are not yet solved. National services like road repair and transportation, electricity and telephone have been affected since the disruption of public life on February 7.

Finally, the daily arrival of exiles and "boat people" seeking to reestablish themselves in Haiti adds to an overpopulation problem. These people lack jobs, and there is little capital to finance their transition into new lives.

For now, most Haitians are focusing on the three Rs: reconciliation with the past, repatriation of private and public funds and property, and reconstruction. This national theme is touted from the pulpit as well as posted on huge billboards. It hinges on words like time, patience and faith.

In every economic sector, particularly industry and agriculture, there is the inevitable question that confronts all developing countries: how to develop and encourage trade while protecting the needs and resources of the people. Here, the big forces that influence Haiti find themselves playing

a delicate game of control and compromise. On the domestic side, the government, the Catholic Church and the wealthy business class are trying to determine a national agenda, which is still largely dictated by the poorer masses, now well-versed in words like revolution, strike and no-compromise—terms they employ at the drop of a hat to assure a radical break from Duvalierism.

On the international front, the U.S. continues to call the shots politically and economically. During the revolution's final weeks, the U.S. negotiated the terms for Duvalier's departure, guaranteeing the safety of officials left behind and approving CNG members, although several were notorious criminals. Today, they oversee the hiring and firing of ministers, following the American agenda for Haitian democracy. Their leverage is money, backed up by military strength. Meanwhile, international corporations and agencies also wield power through loans, material and technological assistance.

### A meticulous job

Roland Bonnett, 35-ish, ex-president of the Catholic Workers Action of Haiti (ACO), is now a consultant to the Autonomous Central of Haitian Workers (CATH), Haiti's most prominent trade union. He gained that title after years of clandestinely organizing workers to unite against Duvalier.

"Under Duvalier, all legal trade unions were yellow—aligned with the government," Bonnett explained recently in Haiti. "They had spies everywhere, and many would be arrested and disappear for trying to organize workers." According to Bonnett, many Haitians went abroad to organize with exiled Haitian groups, then returned to the country to plan a strike. When it finally occurred, it appeared spontaneous, a leaderless uprising. "Duvalier tried to discredit us by saying it was a Communist movement, but we did a meticulous job," Bonnett said.

CATH's present goal is a union in every major Haitian factory and industry, a goal that has been publicly supported by the CNG and the press, but firmly resisted by employers, particularly foreign companies. Recently, employers refused to establish a minimum wage of \$1 U.S. an hour, Bonnett said.

According to opposition leader Hubert de Ronceray, "The labor code of Haiti rec-

*Continued on the following page*

For such a large reputation, Radio Soleil is a modest enterprise, taking up only a few rooms on the second floor of the Petit Seminaire du Saint Martial in downtown Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Soleil, a Catholic-run station, is popularly referred to as "the voice of the people," and remains the barometer for news and opinion on the island since Duvalier's fall February 7.

In 1980, Soleil abandoned its purely evangelical broadcasts for a more political voice—demanding justice for Haitians and an end to government brutality. It discussed the law and the rights of citizens, aiding people in the exercise of democracy and hence provoking the government's wrath. In the 18 months prior to "Baby Doc's" fall, Soleil went a step further—encouraging people to resist Duvalier non-violently and demand his resignation. Today the station is more active than ever, and its "open mike" forum continues to allow Haitians to speak out for a "free, united and democratic Haiti."

Soleil (the sun) began operations on April 30, 1978, sponsored by Haiti's Episcopal Conference, the country's highest Roman Catholic body. The station is 90 percent funded by Misereor, a foundation linked with the German Bishops Episcopal Council. Soleil's original budget was \$150,000 for a 10-kilowatt station that would reach the majority of Haiti's five million people, of whom two million are practicing Catholics.

Its primary goal was three-fold: evangelical, educational and informative, with programs focusing on "the integral promotion of Haitians," explained Monique St. Vincent, a Catholic lay

## DJs of the revolution

worker and Canadian who serves as vice-director of the station, in Port-au-Prince recently.

The idea behind Soleil is a 1968 papal communique by Pope Paul VI that stressed the church's need to "use mass communication to 'give the good news,' like Christ used parables," said Louis-Jacques Eddy, a Soleil administrator. Its evangelical broadcasts cover a range of issues: family, health, civic and political duties, as well as strictly religious questions.

In Haiti under Duvalier, "the church was forced by the situation to become more informative," Eddy said, especially when Haitians began pressuring the church to defend them. Another Catholic station, Radio Lumiere, was all-evangelical, but Soleil began by broadcasting in Creole to educate people about political issues. Soleil's current broadcasts are 85 percent Creole and 15 percent French.

Prior to Soleil's arrival, other radio stations like Radio Haiti-Inter preached a kind of liberation theology. But Soleil modeled itself after Latin American church stations, becoming Haiti's first true "public access" station. There are currently 45 church stations in the Latin American network whose primary goal, Eddy said, "is the education of adults, to get them to organize." Under Duvalier, most radio stations, like the rest of the media, were either pro-government or severely restricted by press laws still on the books today,

although some have been amended.

Soleil attracted an international following in November 1980, when it was the only public voice criticizing the government's expulsion of some 20 journalists. From then on, "the people perceived the church as an institution capable of defending the people, even in very difficult situations," Eddy said. It also attracted the government's attention. Soleil was closed three times, the first time in July 1985, when Duvalier (under pressure by the U.S.) agreed to hold local elections. Soleil ran a series of 20 broadcasts that analyzed the proposed amendments to the constitution and laws on political parties and the press.

"We wanted people to be really informed, to point out the necessity of participating, as well as the consequences, that is, whether the people were ready for democracy. It was a plan to get people to participate as they wanted, not as the government wanted," Eddy explained. The station was re-opened, then shut again, until a tenuous peace was agreed upon between the government and the church.

Then, last November, when anti-government demonstrations broke out in the northern city of Gonaives, Soleil was the first to broadcast live reports, including protesters shouting anti-Duvalier slogans. Since the news media was initially barred from the scene, Soleil used priests and

lay workers to broadcast the news. On December 5, the government closed Soleil for the third time and confiscated its equipment, citing that its "alarmist reports" had spurred demonstrations elsewhere.

There are now about 25 radio stations operating in Haiti, but Soleil's position as the people's choice remains firm. Every day, hundreds of Haitians jam the stairwell leading to Soleil's offices, waiting for their chance to deliver a message on the air. With Duvalier gone, but democracy still a long-term dream, the people's needs have shifted, and Soleil has responded.

"Anthony Vertus, I've lost your address. Meet me at Radio Soleil tomorrow, Wednesday, March 12, at noon." For 18 hours a day, Haitians listen to similar appeals for lost or "disappeared" relatives, to complaints of stolen property, abuses of power in the workplace and other injustices suffered under Duvalier. Others offer opinions on the current political situation. Each person is interviewed by a staff member, their complaint noted and often broadcast the same day. Today, Soleil's budget has climbed to \$300,000; a relay hook-up with two other stations allows it to reach 85 percent of the population. Soleil hopes to expand, and perhaps find new quarters. But Eddy said, "Our goal today is to carry the truth to the people, in an independent way. That has always been our goal."

On a wall in central Port-au-Prince, the people's response is clear. A spray-painted slogan on the wall reads: "la misé fini. Vive Soleil. Amen." (Poverty is over. Long live Soleil. Amen.)

—A.d.



Continued from preceding page

ognizes the role of trade unions; it's the application of the law that never matches the text." De Ronceray wants the government to encourage groups like CATH "or else we are going to fall into anarchy, like we have now, with every worker claiming the right to strike, but without there being a system in place to negotiate."

Sylvio Claude, another opposition leader and former importer-exporter, agreed: "If an American wants to invest here, he is free to do so, but he must respect Haitian law and pay a fair price for labor." Claude, a pragmatist, saw unions as the most efficient model to protect the Haitian economy and help it grow.

Despite the victory over Duvalier, and the new status of CATH, Bonnett maintains a veteran organizer's vigilance: "It's possible that the U.S. names or fires a head of state—that's not unusual, and not only here in Haiti. I suggest for now that activists organize trade unions immediately, before a permanent government is established."

### A bleak portrait

The current agricultural picture for Haiti is sobering. Agriculture accounts for 31 percent of the Haitian gross national product, and nearly 75 percent of the population is supported by agricultural commodities, which make up about half of Haiti's exports. Prior to 1980, this sector showed minimal growth, but it has since fallen into what experts call "a negative balance."

Haiti has a land area of 27,700 square

kilometers, and 1,500 kilometers of coastline. This mostly mountainous island is characterized by a limestone-derived soil. Today, 33 percent of the land is extremely eroded, abandoned, saline or sterile. In 1923, the forest cover was 60 percent; by 1982 it was only 3.6 percent. Deforestation for fuel and cooking purposes, lack of irrigation, erosion, irregular rainfall and the country's multitude of tiny farms are hastening a bleak agricultural future. Only 11 percent of Haitian land contains soil that can be irrigated, reforested or replenished through mechanized agriculture.

These statistics come from an environmental fact sheet prepared by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which has set up economic self-help projects in reforestation, irrigation, potable water, fisheries and land tenure, with the help of agencies like CARE and the Red Cross. These organizations focus on "basic human needs—water, food, shelter, education, health services," according to Haiti's CARE director Ellis Franklin.

Since the '50s, CARE and others have been active in Haiti, the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. Under "Papa Doc" and his son, Jean-Claude, these groups constantly struggled to circumvent political corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency. Today, CARE still plays a relief role, but after the revolution there's a new sense among Haitians about what the role of these agencies should be. The agencies also are aware of their vulnerability if their programs become associated with an unpopular

regime.

CARE warehouses were first targeted by anti-government protesters in 1984, then again during the recent protests. "Before Jean-Claude fell, voluntary agencies like CARE had large food distribution programs," Ellis said. "CARE services were severely disrupted, depots were ransacked and severely damaged." He explained that CARE was not singled out as the enemy, but that "the people would do anything to topple the old government, and any target was sacrificed."

"CARE personnel were not hurt during the February protests, and they were assured they would not be," Ellis added, noting, "CARE has always supported the plight of the people here. Dictatorship doesn't benefit anybody, so CARE people were jubilant at the overthrow of Duvalier."

Press reports in Haiti had speculated that corruption—namely the selling of CARE products on the black market—led to the pillaging. Ellis denied the rumors. He said a recent audit by an independent group of the CARE program "found no sign of misuse of commodities."

Under Duvalier, CARE "was still fairly successful because it is self-help inspired, so the community must provide the input," Ellis explained. The problem had been the government's reluctance to take over and maintain programs once they were set up.

CARE suffered \$1 million in financial losses and material losses of 2,500 metric tons (in 50-lb. bags of food each) during February 5-12. The pillaging made the

agency wary of storing large quantities of food, and unsure whether to reconstruct, given the current instabilities. But despite the pillages, CARE has not changed its basic policy. Since March, CARE has united with four other agencies, including USAID, to provide emergency relief over the coming months.

### A U.S. military motive?

The United States has assumed much of the credit for Jean-Claude's ouster, but Haitian nationals see the issue differently. They view the current U.S. role as getting Duvalier's fortune back, freeing Haitian immigrants still locked up in Puerto Rican and Miami immigration centers and then leaving the country in peace to develop its own brand of democracy.

"Morally, we should expect all big powers to support us, because we are too poor a country. We are almost totally dependent on foreign aid, and if aid is given and a head of state appropriates it and expedites it to foreign banks, then it's neither in our interest nor in the interest of the country giving us aid to allow that," said Hubert de Ronceray. "Practically speaking, with regard to international banks, I wish the big powers would tell us about what international clauses could be used to get this fortune back."

Sylvio Claude agreed: "The U.S. always has a role to play, since they are controlling the politics of the country." He explained that although "the U.S. was forced to help" in Duvalier's departure, they could have taken him to the U.S. where an extradition treaty would have recouped his fortune for Haiti.

The issue of the "boat people" and those exiles who have been denied return visas to Haiti troubles Claude. "Why is the U.S. holding them? Duvalier is not here any longer. The people left because they had to leave; they were political and economic refugees. Now he's gone; the U.S. should leave the doors open for them to return," he said.

The big question few have addressed outside Haiti is why the U.S. persisted in helping Duvalier for so long. Purely economic motives aside, many Haitians suspect a military motive. Since 1983, rumors have surfaced about a U.S. military purchase of Môle St. Nicolas, a large zone in northeastern Haiti. U.S. army troops were observed at work there in early 1984, bulldozing the ground and laying the foundation for an airstrip, local Haitians reported then. Today, Haitians claim that concrete pilings stamped "U.S. Army" remain behind in what appears to have been a sudden abandonment of the project.

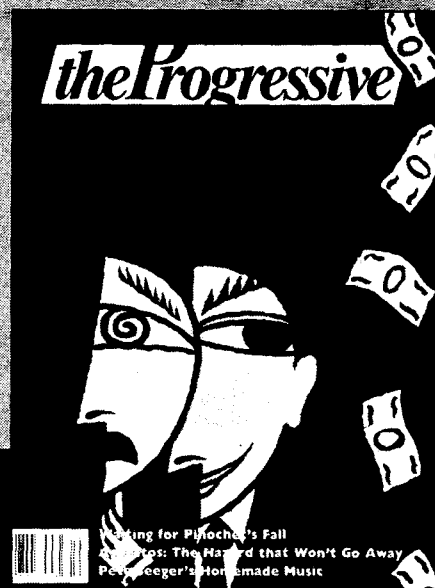
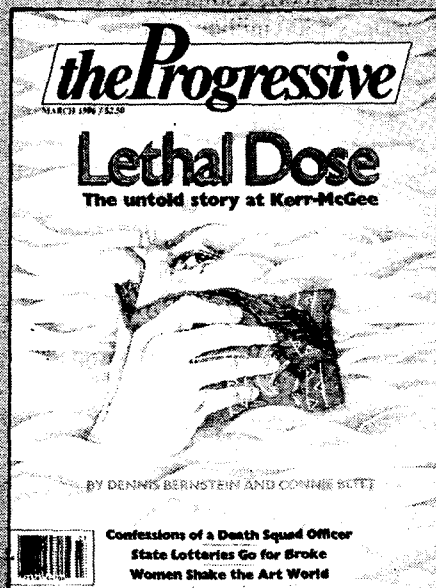
The opposition press has speculated that the U.S. made an under-the-table payoff to "Baby Doc" for the land, hoping to set up a base by the time the Guantanamo Bay lease in Cuba expires in 1988. De Ronceray and Claude both confirmed having heard the stories, but had not seen any proof. "The assertion was denied; they say it is false, but we know there is a certain truth to it," Claude stated. When asked if he would lease Haitian land for a military base if he were elected president in the future, Claude answered, "It is a very delicate question. I can't say yes or no because I don't know the reasons for such a proposal yet."

An April 6, 1984, letter from U.S. Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-CA) to Merritt Claude, Sylvio's sister-in-law, addressing the issue of a base stated, "concerning the issue of the alleged U.S. purchase of Môle St. Nicolas, recent conversations with the State Department Haitian Desk reveal there has been no land purchase by the U.S. ...The State Department also indicated there is no known effort or intention to set up a U.S. base on the island..."

The current theory blowing around the island is that Reagan dropped the plan when he saw that Duvalier would not last until 1988. It remains a critical issue at this point in Haiti's history, since it represents a key bargaining chip in the big-stakes game of Haiti's democratic future.

Anne-christine d'Adesky is a New York-based journalist who recently traveled to Haiti.

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By James Evans &amp; Jack Epstein

LIMA, PERU

**L**ITTLE HAS CHANGED IN PERU since 36-year-old President Alan Garcia Perez took office eight months ago on July 28, despite his promises. The nation is poor, undernourished and staggering under the twin burdens of heavy debt and armed insurgency. However, he has inspired a strong, reinvigorated spirit among the population.

In his inaugural speech Garcia excited the populace and irritated the international banking community by vowing to put the country back on its economic feet, refusing to pay more than 10 percent of export earnings to service Peru's \$14 billion foreign debt. The policy has increased the national treasury from about \$800 million to more than \$1.5 billion.

While that looks good on paper—and may help stimulate a small revitalization of the economy—its effect on the country so far has been theoretical at best. Considering the extent of Peru's poverty, the extra reserves can offer little practical solace to the millions of urban slum dwellers and dispossessed Andean residents. The government simply doesn't have enough capital to buy itself out of trouble. It has, however, become wealthy in terms of buying itself some time, and that wealth is in the form of hope.

While it's doubtful that any one man could pull Peru out of its economic malaise, Garcia has made believers out of most residents here that if anyone can restore the nation's solvency, he can. He is tremendously popular despite a guerrilla war, bombings, kidnappings, extortion threats, assassinations of mayors and military leaders, continued army human rights abuses, corrupt police forces and a wealthy cocaine mafia. His boyish charm, enthusiasm and confidence are contagious. They have infected almost everyone from cynical taxi drivers to the army general minister of war.

The reason for this optimism stems directly from Garcia's willingness to challenge the international banking community's dictation of debt payment schedules and, in particular, the near fiscal hegemony of the U.S. and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The young president is perceived by most of his countrymen—89 percent according to a recent poll—as having the integrity and courage to defend a poor people by standing tall against the bullying tactics of an economic giant and its cohorts.

However, underlying that David and Goliath bluster is a reality more sobering. Annual per capita income in Peru is \$820, the same as in 1965. Two percent of the country's nearly 20 million people generate 60 percent of the wealth, while 38 percent must survive on 2 percent of the nation's \$15 billion gross national product. Industry is working at 50 percent capacity and one-half of Lima officially is unemployed or underemployed. It adds up to the worst economic crisis since the depression, a situation that both has forced thousands of Peruvians into what may be the world's largest underground economy, or into the arms of tenacious guerrilla movements.

Lima's street peddlers, who are only a fraction of the "informal" economy, number between 150,000 to 300,000 and form huge moving shopping centers, selling anything from food and cigarettes to clothes, acrobatic shows and black market dollars. Most sellers earn a survival wage at best. "On a good day I make about \$4," said Oscar de Los Santos, 23, who currently hawks paddle ball rackets for the summer beach season.

A network of clandestine factories has mushroomed primarily in the straw mat and cardboard slums surrounding Lima. According to several economists, even large domestic firms and several multinational corporations are setting up unlicensed factories around the city to reduce costs and avoid taxes.

"The factories make everything but advanced electronics," said Hernando de Soto, an economist and director of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy, a free market think tank in Lima. According to de

## SOUTH AMERICA

## Peru looks toward a knight in Lima



Peru's President Alan Garcia Perez

Soto's reports, six out of every 10 hours worked and two out of every three urban workers are informal. This includes 93 percent of all transportation, 60 percent of housing construction and 90 percent of the clothing industry. De Soto estimates that as much as 48 percent of the economy is informal.

Garcia, who apparently disdains both de Soto's figures and laissez faire theories, nonetheless is aware that the underground economy's strength and popularity may mean increasingly less monetary benefits for his government. Recently he met for four hours with 500 street peddlers at the Presidential Palace and promised to arrange for loans without interest, to consider repeal of the law that prohibits them from selling on downtown streets and to study a request to build them a medical center and more marketplaces.

If the informals were well organized they might be a potent force, but for the moment they remain mostly passive—poor people trying to make a living. De Soto and other economists see that passivity and willingness to work hard for little money as the main reason that the six-year-old guerrilla movement, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), has not become more popular in the urban areas. "There would be a social explosion if the informal sector didn't exist as sort of a cushion to the economic crisis," said Alejandro Toledo, a Stanford-trained

economist.

However, social explosions are already appearing throughout the country in the form of daily violence. Garcia, in an effort to restore public confidence in his government after a rash of bombings in Lima, slapped a state of emergency decree on the capital February 8 and imposed a 1:00-5:00 a.m. curfew, the hours when most attacks were taking place. In public, though, he adopts a casual attitude about the terrorism. He appears without notice among crowds, boasting that he doesn't wear a bullet-proof vest.

During a recent speech to thousands of supporters in Trujillo, a coastal city about 400 miles north of Lima, Garcia didn't miss a beat as smoke, dust and debris spiraled into the twilight air from a bomb blast a block away. He then told the crowd that advisers were asking him to end the speech because of a bomb under the platform.

"But I will not stop," he said in his booming voice, amplified by loudspeakers across the city and by television across the nation. "I will stay here talking even if there is a bomb." That calculated bravado and downplaying of the violence seems smart considering that even with the increased security measures, neither the military nor the police have been able to stop the bombings, kidnappings (Lima is said to be second only to Beirut), robberies, assassinations and assorted gun battles. Their problem in stopping the attacks is that there's little agree-

**Garcia's reformist spirit has given Peruvians new hope, but he is also stepping on a lot of toes, making potentially powerful enemies as he proceeds. Few are apathetic about him.**

ment as to who's responsible for them.

The minister of war, army Gen. Jorge Flores Torres, places most of the blame on Sendero Luminoso. However, he concedes that the violence comes from several sources, including other political groups, cocaine organizations and common criminals, many of whom in the latter are retired policemen. Independent observers, from foreign and domestic journalists to diplomatic sources, say it's the other way around—that most of the violence results from crimes for profit, while some attacks are political, and that includes known human rights abuses by the military.

These same observers speculate that the reason for the sudden upsurge in violence is that Garcia forcibly has retired about 1,500 policemen, mostly officers, for alleged corruption. He also has dismissed several influential army generals. In the week before the state of emergency was declared, as many as 20 bombs exploded simultaneously across the city, one within two blocks of the Presidential Palace. The style of fuse and level of planning were uncharacteristic of Sendero Luminoso, and led top government officials to theorize about the emergence of right-wing terrorists. "There never has been this level of organization," said Carlos Ivan Degregori, a crime expert for the Institute of Peruvian Studies in Lima.

The Senderos and another group, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) are themselves such easy targets for blame that petty criminals and cocaine families are known to use the guerrilla groups' violent reputations as smokescreens to hide their own activities. The cocaine organizations especially are involved in staging attacks and blaming the Senderos, which often draws in the army. When the army arrives the police are shoved out. Since the army tends not to cooperate in the fight against cocaine trafficking and the police can't operate when the army's in control, the drug producers can go about their business.

The traffickers are willing to go to such extremes because coca paste is the nation's leading export, estimated to be worth as much as \$800 million annually. Despite its importance to the economy, Garcia, with an almost moralistic zeal, has led an unprecedented assault on the lucrative industry. In his first six months in office his government bombed 69 clandestine airfields and seized tons of coca leaf and paste, 22 laboratories, 11 airplanes and three helicopters.

Peruvian officials say that to eradicate the cocaine trade, more than the \$4 million the U.S. provides in annual assistance is needed to be effective. "Coca growing is a socioeconomic problem that also warrants aid in education, agriculture, health, industry, communications and transportation," said Agustin Mantilla, vice minister of the interior and director of the anti-cocaine program.

Garcia continues to fight the cocaine industry with the same resolve that he fights police corruption, military abuses, guerrilla insurgencies and the international banking community. While his reformist spirit and energy has given Peruvians new hope, he also is stepping on a lot of toes, making potentially powerful enemies as he proceeds. Barely anyone is apathetic about him.

Observers say that his presidency can go two ways. If the economic crisis worsens he probably won't last more than 12 to 18 months before the military steps in, although Gen. Flores insisted that the military was prohibited by law from engaging in coups. However, if he is successful in walking a tightrope over the multiple challenges and threats to his administration, the feeling is that he may change the constitution and succeed himself as a Peron-like populist. Or he simply may handpick his successor and retain real authority.

In any scenario, Garcia is shaking Peruvians out of their torpor and is rapidly becoming the man to watch, not only in Peru but throughout the region. ■

*James Evans and Jack Epstein are San Francisco-based Latin America specialists.*





By Lawrence Muhammad

GARY, IN

**F**ORMER INDIANA STATE REP. RAYFIELD FISHER was exhausted. The political season was gaining momentum in Lake County, Ind., and he'd been up all night plotting to regain the General Assembly seat he lost in 1983 to an opponent backed by Gary Mayor Richard G. Hatcher's political machine.

"In 1967 we dreamed of Gary being a model city," he said. "But Hatcher's legacy to the city has been destruction of that quest for excellence, and replacing it with acceptance of the mediocre."

Bright and savvy, a lawyer and assistant corporation counsel in the Hatcher administration for five years, Fisher is one of several disenchanted former loyalists who now blame the mayor for the city's decline.

Fisher cites as examples the city's \$13-million, 8,000-seat Genesis Convention Center that is seldom used, the Sheraton Hotel, a city-owned property now plagued with bankruptcy, federal suits and mismanagement, and several other projects.

The young lawyer's main goal now is to regain his assembly seat. But working in a coalition to oust Hatcher runs a very close second. "A lot of us helped Hatcher get in in 1967; we'll help get him out in 1987," he said. "If we don't do it, nobody will."

This livid appraisal of Hatcher, former president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors and vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, may surprise outside observers. But back home in Gary, the city's first black mayor has been steadily losing popularity. His margins of victory have shrunk with every election, and in 1983 he won by only 4,000 votes, 27,000 to 23,000. More than 30,000 voters stayed home.

In office for 18 years, Hatcher has recreated the city he governs to a degree achieved by few other mayors. But throughout his tenure, Gary has been on the decline. Today a fifth of Gary's workforce is unemployed, a shrinking population has left a tenth of its homes vacant and its downtown area consists of small shops and boarded-up storefronts.

Many of Gary's problems reflect the slump at U.S. Steel, whose one-time chairman Elbert H. Gary founded the city in 1906. Gary's largest employer and taxpayer, U.S. Steel, cut its workforce from 30,000 to less than 8,000 in the past 10

years. Also federal aid, which was 50 percent of the city budget in 1980, comprises 4 percent in 1986. City officials say Gary has lost \$67 million in federal aid since Ronald Reagan was elected president. "The size of these reductions is a principal cause of our current fiscal stress," said City Controller Charles Ruckman.

But another lawyer who worked for Hatcher's corporation counsel and wishes to remain anonymous said the mayor neglected to plan for such difficulties. "Any thinking person can see that Hatcher used Gary as a base to promote his own ambitions," he said. "Half the time he wasn't even here. But nobody will listen to him without a base, and that's why he's here now with his sleeves rolled up, trying to put it back together again."

#### Cutback city

To say that Gary has problems is to grossly understate the matter. The city's 1980 budget was \$86 million, but in 1986 a shrinking tax base and cuts in federal aid have reduced it to \$44 million.

In mid-January, the State Board of Tax Commissioners reduced that budget by an additional \$3.6 million. The news came weeks after city officials learned of an unexpected \$5-million tax shortfall for the already spent 1985 budget.

City officials and fiscal analysts are still searching for errors in last year's tax deficit calculations. Ruckman said that if none are discovered, 1986 would be much rougher than anticipated. "Instead of cutting employees, we'd be cutting whole departments," he said.

The mayor predicted bankruptcy if expenses aren't reduced to match declining revenues. As part of an austerity move, the city council had passed an administration proposal that would have converted some 7,000 streetlights to more energy-efficient sodium vapor lights and cut off others, saving Gary \$688,000 a year. Community pressure later forced the council to relent.

The remainder of the \$3.6 million reduction ordered by the state is expected to come from layoffs and salary reductions. "Just try to make a \$3-million cut and not touch employee rolls," said Ruckman. The municipal workforce has decreased 60 percent in the last five years, the result of federal aid cuts. Sanitation and public safety departments have so far been exempt from cuts, but police and fire rolls have fallen due to attrition.

Police rolls have decreased from about 400 in the early '70s to 269 today, and fire department personnel roles have fallen from about 375 in the '70s to 289 in 1986.

With the city's murder rate the highest in the country, the former assistant corpora-

tion counsel, a father of three, said that after Hatcher announced the streetlight proposal he and all his neighbors put their houses on the market.

"My son asked me, probably after he'd been watching some TV commercial, could we camp out in the back yard," he said. "And I said to myself, hell no! I wouldn't be caught in Gary, even in Miller where I live, under a tent in the back yard at night. And this town, as it is, with everybody giving up hope and nothing for all these thugs to do, to even suggest cutting out streetlights was insane."

Thomas Crump, the former councilman who opposed Hatcher in the 1983 election, noted, "We've got more firemen than policemen, and that never was the case before the last few years."

Hatcher said, however, that public safety cuts might be necessary in the coming years.

Such cost-saving moves have already impaired the city's ability to serve constituents. In an appeal for a tax hike to the Local Government Tax Control Board in 1984, officials claimed that reduced tax revenues had already diminished the number of city employees, cut the salaries of those remaining and eliminated city services.

Also the inability to make capital improvements and upgrade equipment has had a negative impact. Conditions at city firehouses were so bad last winter that Firefighters Union Local 359 threatened to sue if the stations weren't brought up to code. City Council President Roy Pratt said that in one of the stations he toured, rodents had infested the building and the second floor toilet leaked onto the first floor kitchen stove, which also was the only source of heat.

"How can the fire department go somewhere and do an inspection and have something like this?" union President James Cherry asked.

Fire Chief Bobby Joiner said some repairs were underway prior to union demands. And the city bought police cars and fire equipment through a \$5-million lease/purchase agreement formulated by E.F. Hutton. The lease/purchase deal replaced an \$8-million bond issue Hatcher proposed in 1984 that was defeated in a petition drive by property owners.

But the arrangement is typical of how the city used public money over the past two decades to supplement lagging tax receipts. Since the late '60s, Gary has received between \$500 million and \$1 billion in federal aid, depending on who's estimating. "You'd never know that half a billion

dollars has come through Gary," said Crump, echoing a familiar criticism that there is little to show for it.

Much of the money went for temporary social service employment and job training programs. "We hired people who otherwise wouldn't have had a job," said Hatcher. "Those dollars represented the salvation of our city, and are a real tribute to the aggressiveness of those administrators who went after those funds."

#### Development troubles

But a substantial number of government dollars funded construction projects that so far have failed to justify the expenditure. It was federal money that built the \$7-million Gary Regional Airport and the civic center properties, including the Hudson-Campbell Sports Complex, \$4 million; Genesis Convention Center, \$13 million; the \$9-million Adam Benjamin Transportation Center; and the Sheraton Hotel, \$2 million.

Some of the structures are still incomplete and represent unsolved problems. The sports complex, scheduled to open last October, is still in the final construction stages, and there is still work to be done on the airport, which is also plagued with major operating difficulties. The airport's first regularly scheduled commercial passenger flights since 1958 were suspended last August because there were too few riders. Britt Airways, a Terre Haute-based commuter airline, halted service after only five months because some flights had only one passenger, when half the seats of the 18-passenger planes needed to be filled for the company to break even. To make matters worse, airport director William Douglas was recently suspended after a state audit found irregularities in record-keeping.

Another problem, the Genesis Center, the largest arena in northwest Indiana, was used only twice a month last year, and 1985 revenues fell \$100,000 short of budget projections of \$1 million. The biggest debacle, however, remains the Sheraton Hotel, which to date has been closed more than open since the city bought it in 1977 from Holiday Inn. The Sheraton, Gary's only downtown hotel, holds the record for mismanagement among city-owned properties. The hotel and/or its management company, Steel Plaza, Inc., faces suits from creditors and former employees who weren't paid, the Department of Commerce Economic Development Administration, which is try-





ing to recover a \$650,000 loan, and Steel Plaza board members themselves, who signed for \$81,000 each on the federal loan and are threatening to sue the city to assume part of the liability.

While federal aid in many instances has meant more problems than solutions for Gary, it has also focused scrutiny on the absence of an economic development plan from Hatcher.

"If his honor were honest, he would admit the complete failure of his economic policy, which he has been unable to develop outside of federal government handouts," said Calumet Township Trustee Dozier Allen, announcing his reelection bid.

Hatcher has focused some attention on economic development, but apparently as a result of Reagan administration cutbacks.

With closure of the big mills, Gary, like other economically troubled industrial areas, now is banking on small- to medium-sized companies for economic revival. Over the past year the mayor has religiously attended weekly meetings of the city's Business Development Commission, which in 1985 attracted 59 new firms to Gary, creating about 1,000 jobs.

"I see in the city's future more of what's happening at Gate City steel center," said Ruckman. The center, a 23-acre expanse under one roof, holds 15 companies that provide steel-related products. These companies employ 800 people.

And Gary's Urban Enterprise Zone, with its tax incentives to businesses located in the area, has helped save 180 jobs and created 241 others, according to a report of 1985 activities. "A public/private partnership has truly happened in the city of Gary," said zone director Tom Eskelson.

But the city's commercial sector still has a ways to go. It never recovered from the exodus of major white financial institutions, real estate firms and retail businesses that followed the election of Hatcher. Indiana University professor Robert Catlin, who recently completed a study of Gary neighborhoods, said the shoddy condition of businesses on the city's main thoroughfares contributed significantly to urban blight. "They want to take money out of Gary, but they don't want to put any back in," he said.

But Gary retail merchants get little patronage from local residents. A recent survey by the Gary Consumer Affairs Agency found that nearly half the city's shoppers make the majority of their purchases outside Gary. Shoppers said Gary prices were too high, and that store appearances, the quality of merchandise and employee attitudes

were unsatisfactory.

The depressed economic climate has aggravated the city's number-one problem: jobs. It was laid-off steel workers, the "new poor," who overloaded the Calumet Township Poor Relief rolls. The township is a governmental taxing unit that is primarily composed of the Gary metropolitan area.

The problem reached crisis proportions when some 15,000 families, all clients of the township's poor relief program, faced winter without food, shelter, medicine or heat after 9,000 vendors quit taking township vouchers for the poor. The utility company alone is owed \$8.6 million, and it was the first vendor to quit accepting the worthless paper, followed by all grocery stores in the city. Landlords also began making wholesale evictions.

And because state law mandates the township issue vouchers, the agency's indebtedness rose to \$26 million before the Indiana General Assembly last month passed bail-out legislation. Though the legislature imposed a 1 percent county income tax to solve the township's funding crisis, the sheer number of poor people means that many still fall through the cracks.

The ordeal of 30-year-old Cecelia Johnson, a pregnant mother of three who was laid off from U.S. Steel in 1983, might be typical. Johnson's income went abruptly from \$1,400 a month to \$553—\$316 from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and \$237 in food stamps. She has gone without food stamps and aid since November because she accepted \$4,200 in Trade Readjustment Allowance payments awarded to furloughed steel workers—layoffs that can be traced to foreign steel imports.

"Someone called the welfare department and said I was receiving unemployment benefits," she said. "but they weren't unemployment benefits." Johnson said she has survived through loans from friends and relatives and handouts from the city emergency referral service. One month she said she got money from the township.

"After I have this baby, they said I could get back on welfare again," she said, "but only for this child. As for the other three kids—zap. Nothing."

Getting the state to assist people like

Johnson during the interim winter months before the legislature acted was a big job for Hatcher.

### An island of Democrats

The mayor, who had long neglected state politics to build ties with influential Washington allies, lost on both ends with the Reagan election.

Most of Hatcher's powerful contacts, such as former Indiana Senators Birch Bayh and Vance Hartke, were swept aside by the Republican tide that rolled across the nation in the past 10 years. With them went his access to federal dollars.

Hatcher has been a vocal opponent of Reagan's domestic policies, and his relations with GOP leaders are icy. He has virtually no contact with Indiana Gov. Robert Orr, and Senators Dan Quayle and Richard Lugar, who replaced Bayh and Hartke, are considered political foes.

Hatcher has, however, tried to mend relations, and for the past two years hosted a lavish reception for GOP officeholders. Nevertheless, to get a meeting with Orr on the Calumet Township crisis, the most pressing issue on the 1986 legislative agenda, Hatcher had to threaten a protest march to the capitol.

Hatcher's encounter with Orr reflects the mayor's growing isolation as a political figure and his waning influence as a national leader.

In a contentious party reorganization vote last January, Hatcher lost the vice chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee to Illinois Comptroller Roland Burris. He has failed to firm up relations with Congressman Peter Visclosky since he defeated Hatcher-backed incumbent Katie Hall in 1983.

Critics say the mayor's ethnic posturing has cost the city supporters. "You can't be black and isolationist and expect people to work with you," said Gary minister William Booth, who is black.

Hatcher, a board member of the Free South Africa Movement and manager of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, is one of the few remaining cause-oriented mayors. And although the race issue is sometimes a considerable liability for Gary, an economically depressed community of black Democrats in a GOP-dominated state, Hatcher is never afraid to challenge entrenched power over racial inequities.

He has organized black elected officials to protest the lack of Democratic Party support for black statewide candidates. "As if there is a sign on the door of every state office that says blacks need not apply," said Hatcher. Called VOTER (Voters Organized to Enhance Representation), the group will run a black for state treasurer, and has sched-

uled a convention in April to slate and endorse candidates.

On the other hand, the mayor's candor about social ills in Gary is blamed as the source of "white flight" that followed his election. "The word went out soon as he was elected," said a former Hatcher supporter who didn't want to be identified. "Black Power! We don't need him [the white man] no more! Black Power! We don't need him no more!" I can remember sitting across the street from Hatcher's house holding a carbine to keep him alive. If I knew then what I know now, I would have shot him myself."

Hatcher had the federal government to fall back on during the earlier years when his political bombast estranged white businessmen and local industry. But now, with the vulnerability of the city laid bare, he faces perhaps the toughest challenge of his political career.

He has focused on the need for economic development, and made an uneasy peace with U.S. Steel, which participates in the city's Business Development Commission. But the steel giant which still pays 40 percent of Gary's property taxes constantly fights in the courts and with state agencies for tax reductions.

This means the mayor must face the tough political compromises and sacrifices that maintain the city's interests. And some indication of the city's fiscal shape is that Hatcher ended his recent state of the city address with the promise that "As long as I am mayor, I am determined never to allow the city of Gary to experience the same kind of bankruptcy we see now in the Calumet Township Trustee's office."

But as the budget cuts and tax deficits take Gary toward even greater difficulty, Hatcher keeps smiling and predicting a bright future. And there are some small signs of hope. Goldblatt's, which closed its last downtown store in 1981, reopened last summer in a neighborhood shopping mall. City Venture Corp., a subsidiary of Control Data Corporation, is scheduled to establish a small business incubator in the downtown area. Gary recently received a \$98,000 grant to study a state-funded marina project, which will include boat slips, luxury apartments and convenience shops that could revitalize the city.

These comprise the beginning elements of the Gary that Hatcher spoke of in his state of the city address, "the Gary that is for the most part omitted from news accounts, the one you never hear about, but nevertheless, the real Gary, making dramatic progress toward the goal of prosperity."

**Lawrence Muhammad** is a political reporter in Gary, Ind., for the *Post-Tribune*.



## EDITORIAL

For almost 35 years—ever since the Eisenhower administration initiated its “atoms for peace” program—nuclear power has been used to generate electricity. Despite continual popular efforts to curtail its spread in the United States and in Western Europe, governments have built or encouraged the construction of nuclear power plants, while insisting that they pose little or no danger to public health and safety. In the United States, primarily because of the activity of anti-nuclear protestors, nuclear power plants have been subject to public scrutiny and have had relatively few fatal accidents. Yet even here, despite elaborate licensing procedures involving citizen participation in public hearings, there have been a series of near-disasters, and at least one meltdown at Three Mile Island.

In the Soviet Union, of course, there is no public scrutiny, much less public protest, of nuclear power plants or programs (see article, page 3). Even so, at the time of Three Mile Island in 1979 a Soviet spokesman declared that the danger of such a disaster has never existed in his country because concern for public safety, not private profit, was the government's first priority. Superior precautions, he insisted, made Soviet nuclear power safe.

Last week's disaster at the Chernobyl power plant near Kiev, the Soviet Union's third largest city, put an end to that illusion. But it did so only because the clouds of radioactive gases and isotopes that blew over Finland and Scandinavia provoked demands for an explanation from Soviet authorities. If this had not occurred, the current disaster, like that of the 1957 nuclear waste dump catastrophe in the Urals—an explosion in which thousands died and some 1,000 square kilometers (about 385 square miles) were rendered permanently uninhabitable—might have re-



## Secrecy: the Soviet containment dome

mained officially nonexistent, only the subject of rumor.

As *In These Times* went to press, the extent of the damage done at Chernobyl was not known, but it is already clear that this is the world's worst atomic plant accident. And it seems to have been made substantially worse by the absence of steel and concrete containment vessels designed to minimize the escape of radiation. The situation was further exacerbated by the fact that the Soviets use graphite as a moderator of the nuclear reaction. Graphite is a more efficient moderator than water, which is used in all but

two of the 99 U.S. reactors, but unlike water it burns fiercely at high temperatures and is extremely difficult to extinguish once it catches on fire. As we went to press it had been burning out of control at Chernobyl for several days.

Nuclear power generation has been a priority in the Soviet Union in recent years as the Soviets have sought rapidly to modernize their industry. Unconstrained by citizen participation in this process, Soviet planners were free to proceed along the easiest and most efficient path. And, like their American and European counterparts, Soviet nuclear planners appeared confident that the chances of serious accidents were remote, that if they did occur they could be contained, and that the

danger to the public was minimal—and acceptable.

In the United States, there has been a continuous public debate about the benefits and dangers of nuclear-generated power. Environmental and public health groups have argued that the risks to public safety are unacceptable and that the problems of permanent radiation contamination of the environment are too great to justify the use of nuclear power. Industry and government officials have assured the public that they know what they're doing, that there are social costs in all forms of power production and that the risks are entirely reasonable. So far, the American public has either remained unmoved by the anti-nuclear arguments or has sided with industry and government officials. Nevertheless, public protests have forced the Atomic Energy Commission to develop stringent safety procedures and to institute a lengthy public review process. As a result, many serious flaws in the design and production of nuclear reactors have been uncovered and corrected. In fact, this process has delayed the construction of most U.S. plants and has raised the cost of production to the point where nuclear power is no longer economically feasible in the U.S.

But public protest and citizen participation are unknown in the Soviet Union. Government and industry bureaucrats there are free to proceed as they will, constrained only by loyalty to their own people and the desire to protect their own careers. With all the good will in the world, this system encourages shortcuts, overlooking defects, cutting corners on expenses and covering up problems. In many Soviet industries the public's inability to criticize the ruling party or to participate independently in the decision-making process has led to the production of shoddy goods and to the breakdown of efficient production. At Chernobyl, it has led to disaster.

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## The half-life on Libya

In the United States, the Soviet nuclear disaster has caused concern in high circles for the future of our own nuclear power industry—manifested in a gag order on Department of Energy officials—but it is also seen as a providential gift that has shifted world attention from Reagan's raid on Libya to shortcomings in the Evil Empire. Even so, the political fallout from the raid continues, while terrorist attacks against Americans—and now Britons—continue to mount.

As we anticipated, terror continues to breed terror. Since the raid, American embassy officials throughout the world have been in a very high state of alert. Embassy officers have been shot in the Sudan and Yemen. In Ankara, Turkish police caught two men carrying a bag of grenades and explosives near an American military officers club, while in Mexico City police defused a bomb found in a car parked next to the American embassy. Similarly, pre-dawn bombings destroyed offices of American Express and an American computer company in Lyons, France, a British bank in Beirut as well as American and British airlines offices in London. And one American and two British hostages were murdered in Lebanon.

The political fallout also continues, especially in Britain, where Margaret Thatcher has come under mounting attack for her subservience to President Reagan. Charges that she has turned Britain into a “51st state” have revived discussion about the role of American bases there and have caused Thatcher to send informal diplomatic signals to Washington indicating that another request for the use of the bases would be “most unwelcome.” Ac-

cording to a *New York Times* correspondent, one effect of the Libyan raid may be a tighter definition of limitations on the use of American bases in Britain. That issue now seems certain to be a major one in the Labour Party's campaign next year. With public opinion running almost two to one against Thatcher's acquiescence in the use of the bases for the F-111s that bombed Tripoli, the question of whose interests the American bases serve, and who controls them will be aired once again—and this time with the British people considerably more concerned.

All of this demonstrates the real limitations on American power, despite Reagan's aggressive bellicosity. The Tripoli raid was about as far as he could go. Its immediate effect has been counterproductive. More important in the long run, the raid's political impact in Europe and the Middle East makes it highly unlikely that a second raid will be attempted.

And yet there is no sign from Washington that the administration or Congress understands that terrorism emanating from the Middle East is not caused by individual madmen or by the meddling of the Evil Empire, but by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In Europe, this is no secret, though only Greece's Andreas Papandreu has had the courage to say so publicly. But in the United States, both among media pundits and government officials, this seems to be not only unsayable, but also unthinkable.

Nevertheless, that is the underlying reality. Until we come to terms with it, terrorism will continue to be a part of life for Americans abroad.



## LETTERS

## Reproductive tech

IN HER REVIEW OF *THE MOTHER MACHINE* and *The Hidden Malpractice* by Gena Corea (ITT, Feb. 19), Katherine Carlson successfully articulates the basic political issues behind women's reproductive health care.

But in explaining the technologies, she makes many misleading statements. In describing the steps of in vitro fertilization (IVF), Carlson states that "an egg must be obtained from an egg donor." In the majority of cases, IVF is an alternative for couples whose female partner has blocked or damaged fallopian tubes, preventing the release of her eggs. Egg donation programs are being initiated in some of the larger centers world-wide, but these eggs are donated. I do not know of any situations in which eggs are "robbed" from normal women undergoing unrelated procedures, although I plan to read Corea to see whether she can back up such statements.

"The resultant embryo can be sexed," Carlson states. Few centers make any attempt to sex embryos. I do not deny the reality of female genocide (such as is occurring in China due to their one-child-per-family policy), but we are told that female embryos can be simply "thrown out." First, sexing is done *before* conception takes place. Second, viable embryos are never thrown away. This is one of the major reasons embryo freezing has begun to be used—another is because of the failure of legislative bodies to deal with the issue the new technologies present. Finally, rather than allowing physicians to reproduce themselves for generations to come, embryo freezing allows women to attempt pregnancy again without repeating the initial steps should she not get pregnant the first try.

No matter how you feel about these options, they have become a reality. Allowing ourselves to be misinformed by health care journalists is dangerous. The issues are multi-faceted and we are all hurt by misinformation.

Nancy Jo Zaffaro  
Chicago

## Pol Pot

I'M LOSING PATIENCE WITH HEARING about Kampuchea only from a Vietnamese-apologist viewpoint (Michael Shari, Sept. 18, 1985; Chris Mullin, Feb. 5; Paul Joseph, Feb. 26). Can't we hear from a Pol Pot apologist once in a while?

Less facetiously, I thought that Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman had demonstrated fairly conclusively—in *After the Cataclysm*—that the "Cambodian genocide" stories were at best wildly exaggerated and in several cases a product of government and media disinformation. The authors found no evidence of Kampuchean government organized or authorized massacres; and in 1977, a State Department expert accepted as "excellent" an estimate of "several hundred thousand deaths from all causes," the majority due to disease and malnutrition (and thus, indirectly, to the U.S. "secret war").

While Chomsky and Herman drew a picture of the Khmer Rouge as leading an essentially popular revolution, Shari, Mullin and Joseph seem to accept Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge as monsters in human form and, conversely, the Vietnamese as the (possibly misguided) good guys. Joseph's article (aptly titled "Vietnamese trying to find a way out") even blames the Khmer Rouge for resisting: "thus the Khmer Rouge has forced Phnom Penh to divert resources that could better be spent in rebuilding the country." None of them attempts to explain why the Khmer Rouge, with 35,000 troops, is "the

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only effective fighting force" (Joseph). Apparently they still enjoy some popular support.

Perhaps these articles are correct in their assumptions. Perhaps the complex situation in Kampuchea, seeming to feature human beings with their usual mix of good intentions, dubious motives, compromises with evil and self-justifications, can be reduced to a black-and-white picture. But I doubt it. And in the absence of any indication that you are considering both sides, or are willing to question your assumptions, I will continue to believe that you are all (presumably unwitting) victims of what Alex Forman called "disinformation as an accepted way of life."

Paul Norris  
Missoula, Mont.

## Refugee round-up

THANKS FOR THE TWO ARTICLES BY Connie Blitt and Dennis Bernstein on the refugee problem in the Rio Grande Valley, and the CCA detention center in Laredo (ITT, March 12, 25). These articles are among the better ones I've seen.

Some things ITT readers might be interested to know:

Stacey Merkt, whose arrest in February

1984 together with two Lutheran church-workers from El Salvador led to the nation's first sanctuary-related trial, is going to be tried all over again. Her re-trial is scheduled to begin May 5 in Brownsville, Texas. She was convicted of conspiracy in another case last year in which a refugee under intense INS pressure identified her, despite her absence from the state of Texas when the offense occurred. Anyone interested in helping Merkt can contact the Rio Grande Defense Committee.

In February, church visitors making a tour of the INS detention center mentioned in Blitt and Bernstein's article found a severely ill Salvadoran in the infirmary. The nurse there had no idea what was wrong with him. His release, and subsequent hospitalization for severe dehydration, was obtained only through the accidental intervention of outsiders. Other detainees report that he had been vomiting blood in the barracks, yet was being treated as a malingerer. If he had died inside, would anyone have known, or would they just deport his corpse?

Just before last Christmas, according to a detainee who participated, Adolpho Calero Portocarrero was allowed to interview and recruit Nicaraguan detainees at the *corralón*. According to one who didn't

go, those who said yes were out of the camp in two or three days.

Jonathan Moore  
Coordinator, Rio Grande Defense Committee  
Box 2066, San Benito, TX 78586

## Lincoln Brigade

THE FULL PAGE YOU GAVE TO THE 50TH anniversary of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (ITT, April 23) reflects the great interest in our history.

We were, therefore, distressed by your headline, "Tentative Truce" and the substance which did not represent our present organization. It has been at least 10 years since the kind of differences you report (left-right or whatever) have even been discussed at Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB).

Instead we have been active in every part of "The Good Fight!"

There is no "tentative truce" because no truce is needed. The personal political beliefs of our members remain just that—personal.

No organization at odds with itself could have carried on the enormously successful campaign for ambulances for Nicaragua or, for that matter, worked so well to produce events in New York and Berkeley, which drew thousands of enthusiastic supporters.

It should not be necessary for a left-wing/socialist journal to invent differences on the left to titillate a bored audience.

Steve Nelson  
VALB National Commander  
Abe Smorodin  
VALB National Secretary



## SYLVIA

What if Bankers and Real Estate Agents were in charge "up there?"



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WHEN EVERYONE WAS BUYING A HOUSE BECAUSE INTEREST RATES WERE SO LOW, YOU CHOSE TO CONTINUE RENTING.

IS THIS A FREE COUNTRY OR WHAT?



by Nicole Hollander



## PERSPECTIVE

# Eye for an eye causes blindness



By Rex B. Wingerter

**T**HE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION's decision to attack Libya with more than 100 tons of bombs and missiles rested on the assumption that firepower could change Col. Khadafy's foreign policy. "This preemptive action," declared President Reagan the night American air and naval forces struck Libya, "will provide him with incentives and reasons to alter his criminal behavior."

But is there any reason to believe that Khadafy will change his ways in response to the use of military force? Is there any evidence that armed retaliation stops terrorism? In short, were the assumptions valid that brought the U.S. into its first war against an Arab state and threatens to escalate into more Middle East violence?

According to Israel, a country that has confronted Arab guerrilla and terrorist attacks for more than four decades, the answer was an urgent yes. A former Israeli intelligence chief confidently told the *MacNeil-Lehrer Report* that despite "sitting on occupied territory" and living with an "alien" population for 19 years, tough Israeli counter-measures had taken care of terrorism in the Jewish state. And Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, flatly told *ABC Nightline* that Israel had defeated terrorism.

But the facts belie these assertions. Armed attacks against Israelis in the region of the West Bank city of Nablus nearly doubled in 1985 from the prior year, according to the Israeli military. One hundred and sixty-seven petrol bombs hurled at Israeli installations accounted for most of the attacks. Israeli police reports

show that acts involving guns, explosive or fire bombs averaged more than three a day last year. Less serious incidents, said police sources, averaged more than six a day. Significantly, "the attacks were more sophisticated and audacious than in previous years," continued Israeli security sources.

Further doubt on the use of retaliatory force comes from the Rand Corporation's Chronology of International Terrorism. Just last month, analyst Bruce Hoffman found that Israel's massive 1982 invasion of Lebanon "had little effect—and, moreover, only an ephemeral one at that—on the level of Palestinian terrorist activity." The number of Palestinian attacks in Israel in 1984 tripled from the previous year. What's more, attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets outside Israel also increased after the invasion.

Numbers such as these invalidate Israel's claim that it has halted terrorism. They inspire little confidence in Reagan's assurances that bombing Libya will change Khadafy's behavior. But the failure of Israel's anti-terrorist policy is best understood when contrasted with the enormity of its retaliatory and preemptive operations.

Israel made clear that its retaliation policy for Arab attacks would be swift, massive and continuous. In 1975, the Lebanese government said that Israeli violations of Lebanese sovereignty in pursuit of silencing Palestinian fighters increased to seven incidents per day, whereas from 1968 to 1975 the rate was 1.4 per day.

Disproportionality was also part of the policy: when Palestinians killed a mother and two children in 1953, Ariel Sharon retaliated with an attack on the Jordanian village of Qiba that left 42 men, women

and children dead and 41 houses destroyed; after 11 Israeli athletes were murdered at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games, Israeli reprisal raids over Syria and Lebanon killed anywhere between 200 and 500 people, mostly civilians.

One purpose of these attacks was to inflict blows so stunning that Palestinians would cease their attacks and forego their dream of ever returning to Palestine. Another message was that a stiff price would have to be paid by any Arab country supporting or even acquiescing to the presence of the PLO. Israeli Gen. Yitzhak Rabin explained in 1966 "that as long as this [Israel's] side of the border will not be quiet, no quiet will prevail on the other side." In carrying out this policy toward Lebanon, in the first nine months of 1975, Israeli attacks had left at least 236 civilians dead, nearly 600 wounded and destroyed about 500 homes.

Yet Palestinian attacks persisted and Israel escalated the costs. In 1978 over 25,000 Israeli troops marched into southern Lebanon. According to Lebanese figures, the invasion left 1,168 dead, almost half civilian, and made some 285,000 people homeless.

Four years later, the logic of Israel's anti-PLO policies compelled it to launch a full-scale invasion of Lebanon. Thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians were killed and the "PLO infrastructure" smashed. It was supposed to bring peace to Israel. Yet the Rand Corporation found that within three years, Palestinian attacks against Israel had resumed to their pre-invasion level.

Israel failed completely in altering Palestinian determination to use armed force in regaining any part of historic Palestine. Instead, its policy of preemptive attacks put it on the road to ever-increasing violence. The Reagan administration has now joined Israel on that same road. The attack on Libya signaled the White House's acceptance of Israel's anti-terrorist philosophy.

But this shift in U.S. policy did not occur by happenstance. For years Israeli leaders have pressed the White House to duplicate the Jewish state's policy of harsh

## A recent Rand Corporation report shows that Israel's hard line on terror has only increased terror.

retaliation against Palestinian attacks. The most high-powered effort came from the Jonathan Institute, an organization in Israel that convened its first conference in 1977 in Jerusalem in order "to begin the formation of an anti-terrorist alliance." The Institute argued that the Soviet Union was behind worldwide terrorism and sought to forge a tight alliance with likeminded Americans. Speakers to the conference, many of whom gained significant influence in the Reagan administration, included Sen. Henry Jackson, Congressman Jack Kemp and then private citizen George Bush. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was present as was columnist George Will and publisher Norman Podhoretz.

Seven years later the Institute took aim at the Reagan administration by holding

its second conference in Washington, D.C. The Reagan White House was conspicuously present, with the attendance of Secretary of State George Shultz, presidential counselor Edwin Meese, U.N. Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick and FBI Director William Webster. The Senate was also well represented. George Will and Norman Podhoretz were joined by National Public Radio reporter Daniel Shorr and *New Republic* editor Charles Krauthammer.

The theme of the conference was the same as the first, only more shrill: terrorism was controlled by the Soviet Union and the West had the moral obligation and legal right to bring military action against any state that supported terrorism. Arnold de Borchgrave and Claire Sterling helped advance this thesis, while Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens claimed that Israel's rescue mission at Entebbe, Uganda, was an "objective lesson that terror can be defeated." Joining in, George Shultz urged the West to take "appropriate preventive or preemptive actions" against terrorism.

A country that could carpet bomb Southeast Asia 15 years ago did not need convincing by Israel to attack Libya or any other country deemed to be aiding terrorism. But the Jonathan Institute and its supporters did frame the context and parameters of the U.S. response to terrorism. There was complete silence on non-military alternatives to halting terrorism. Suggestions that some Third World peoples could have legitimate reasons for attacking the West was ridiculed and rejected. *Time* magazine gave important assistance to this effort the week Reagan ordered the attack against Libya by printing excerpts from a forthcoming book *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* written by the founder of the Jonathan Institute and Israel's U.N. Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu.

The writing encapsulated Israel's prescription for fighting terrorism and—implicitly—its interpretation of the Israel-Palestine conflict. "International terrorism," declared Netanyahu, did not arise from "social misery and frustration" but was "rooted in the political ambitions and designs of expansionist states and the groups that serve them. Without the support of such states, international terrorism would be impossible." Here lay the core behind the concept of "state-sponsored" terrorism. It also underlies Israel's view that the PLO is merely a creation of the Arab states and but for their support, the Palestinian issue would have melted away years ago.

Because terrorism is a conspiracy against the West, Netanyahu urged a "continuous campaign against its sponsors" identified to be the Soviet Union, Cuba, North Korea, Libya, Iran, Syria, Iraq and South Yemen. Hot pursuit, retaliation and preemptive action is only "self-defense" and "takes precedence over sovereignty." Washington should not be concerned about the consequences of military action, *Time* counseled, for "the application of military force or the prospect of such application inhibits terrorist violence." Finally, only the U.S. can lead the West in the campaign against state-sponsored terrorism. "The more the U.S. resorts to action," promised Netanyahu, "the greater the number of states that will join the American effort to combat terrorism."

Many of the Reagan administration's justifications for attacking Libya can be found in arguments of Netanyahu and his compatriots. "Self-defense," "moral necessity" and "preserving Western freedoms" were all defenses articulated by official and semi-official White House spokesmen. Now that the administration has adopted Israeli methods in dealing with terrorism, we will be hearing a lot more of it, spoken in both Hebrew and English, as each country seeks to bomb Third World insurgency into submission.

**Rex B. Wingerter**, a long-time student of the Palestine-Israel conflict, lived in the Middle East and is former editor of *Mideast Commentary*. He now writes on legal affairs from Washington.



## PERSPECTIVE

## Justice Bird battles for independence

By Bill Blum &amp; Gina Lobaco

**O**N MARCH 14, 1978, CHERYL Seitz left her two-and-a-half-year-old daughter — blonde-haired, blue-eyed Amy Sue—at the home of her babysitter in Camarillo, Calif., a sleepy farming community 60 miles north of Los Angeles. The morning proceeded uneventfully and as Amy Sue sat down to watch TV, the babysitter stepped into another room. Suddenly the front door slammed and Amy was gone. Two weeks later, her mutilated body was discovered in a rugged canyon near Los Angeles. She had been raped, stabbed and strangled.

Theodore Frank, a known recidivist child molester who had been released from a state mental hospital only two weeks before Amy's disappearance, was convicted of her murder and sentenced to die in the gas chamber. Then last June the California Supreme Court overturned the death sentence, holding that Frank's rights under the Eighth Amendment and the state constitution had been violated by the improper admission of his diaries during the penalty phase of the trial.

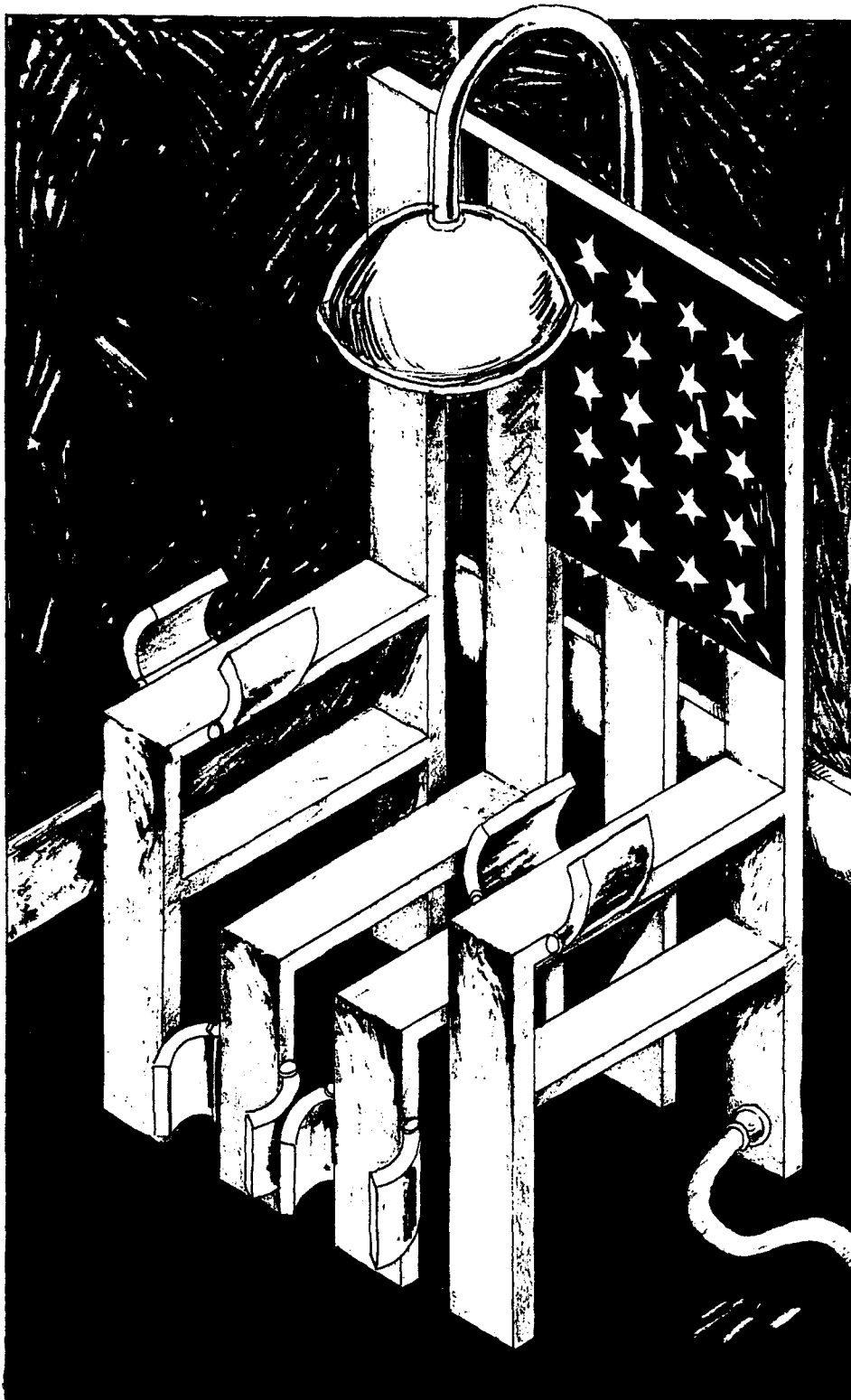
Cases like Frank's challenge the very soul of the judiciary. Should judges stretch the law to soothe the public's rage over criminal violence, or should they render dispassionate judgments based on legal precedent, even if doing so risks public censure? The California Supreme Court, as it has in more than 50 death penalty cases since the overwhelming vote in 1978 to restore capital punishment, chose the latter course. But it is now paying a heavy price in a drama that could change the way American justice is dispensed.

California's Constitution mandates that appellate justices seek approval at the polls in the first general election after their appointment by the governor and every 12 years thereafter. This November six of the court's seven members will be on the ballot. They will run unopposed and without party designation, but while such elections are generally low-key, this one has broken all the rules. California's powerful right wing has launched an unprecedented campaign to unseat Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird and three of her associate justices, including the first Mexican-American member of the high court, Cruz Reynoso.

Focusing largely on the court's record of affirming just three of the 57 capital sentences it has reviewed, Bird's opponents have spent more than \$3.3 million, flooding the state with emotional direct mailings, newspaper ads and radio editorials blasting the judicial "gang of four." Bird, who has never voted to uphold a death sentence, has been accused of every venality from running roughshod over the sovereign rights of the people to being morally responsible for the murder of Amy Sue Seitz.

In another era such mudslinging could be dismissed as the rantings of a lunatic fringe, akin to the innumerable campaigns to impeach former U.S. Chief Justice Earl Warren. But California is now Reagan country. Bird's critics include some of the shrewdest, if most retrograde, minds in the country—men like New Right tax crusader Howard Jarvis; political consultant Bill Roberts, Reagan's 1966 gubernatorial campaign manager; and governor George Deukmejian, whose bitter feuds with Bird date back to the '70s when he was California attorney general.

The latest polls show Bird losing by wide margins, although her three targeted colleagues appear headed for narrow confirmation. The prospect of being removed from office has prompted Bird to form her own campaign committee, the Com-



mittee to Conserve the Court (CCC). With a war chest of more than \$1 million drawn largely from lawyers' organizations, the CCC plans a media campaign later in the electoral season. Bird has also taken to the hustings and has traded her old brunette schoolmarm's bun for a blond windswept hairstyle.

## Judicial independence

Bird's backers have mostly avoided name-calling, preferring instead to emphasize her personal integrity and to defend the soundness of her death penalty decisions. More importantly, they have also sought to engage Californians in a thoughtful dialog about the role of the courts in a democratic society.

Although it may not be sufficiently appealing to reverse Bird's fortunes, the issue of judicial independence is undoubtedly the strongest card in CCC's losing hand. The idea of a free and unfettered court system is a core value of American popular culture. Indeed, one of the grievances enumerated in the Declaration of Independence was that the king "made judges dependent upon his will alone for the tenure of their office and payment of their salaries."

The system of separation of powers the framers of the Constitution created provided for presidential appointment of federal judges, with the advice of the Senate, and for lifetime judicial tenure during good behavior. In the ratification struggle that followed, judicial independence was heralded by Alexander Hamilton as the "bulwark" of the Constitution. "This independence of the judges," Hamilton wrote

in *Federalist Paper No. 78*, "is requisite to guard the rights of individuals" and protect "the minor party in the community."

But while Hamilton's arguments carried the day for life tenure, judicial independence has often coexisted uneasily with pressures for popular democracy, and at the state level the idea of life tenure for judges never really took hold. Citizens in many states, remembering colonial courts as extensions of the governor's arbitrary power, had reservations about the development of a large independent state judiciary. By 1885, nearly three-fourths of the states, including California, required selection of judges by openly contested and partisan elections.

But the national experience with partisan elections ultimately proved as dissatisfying as lifetime tenure. In California, former State Bar President Anthony Murray has written, "A political system produced judicial politicians." Rather than shield California courts from the wealthy, partisan elections made judges available to the highest bidder, which often meant the Southern Pacific Railroad or large banks and oil firms.

The current system of uncontested retention elections was adopted by constitutional amendment in 1934 to put an end to the spectacle of judges stumping for votes and cutting political deals. Nationally today, a total of 15 states hold confirmation votes similar to California's; 23 others stage contested elections, but in only 12 are these partisan. Only three states—Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island—still offer lifetime appointments.

According to University of California

law professor Preble Stolz, a longtime Bird critic, California's rejection of the federal model was not inadvertent. As Stolz points out, the only way to remove a federal judge is by the cumbersome process of impeachment. Since 1789, the House of Representatives has initiated proceedings against only 10 judges and the Senate has convicted only four.

Stolz insists that the purpose of the 1934 amendment was to provide voters with an electoral check on the courts and the opportunity to express their confidence in the legal positions taken by their judges.

Deborah Goff of the Crime Victims for Court Reform, one of the four principal anti-Bird campaign groups, has translated Stolz' analysis into language that a crime-weary public can understand. "This particular court hasn't followed the laws that were created by the people. It has not been accountable to the people and that overrides judicial independence."

Bird and her supporters are clearly on the defensive on accountability. "The court's opponents should tell us what they really mean by accountability, but they never do," complains San Francisco Bar Association President Jerome Falk. "The principle of public accountability applies to all officials, but it applies differently depending on the job. A judge's job is to decide cases according to the law, not according to popular will. Public accountability doesn't mean Gallup Poll justice."

## Bird court record

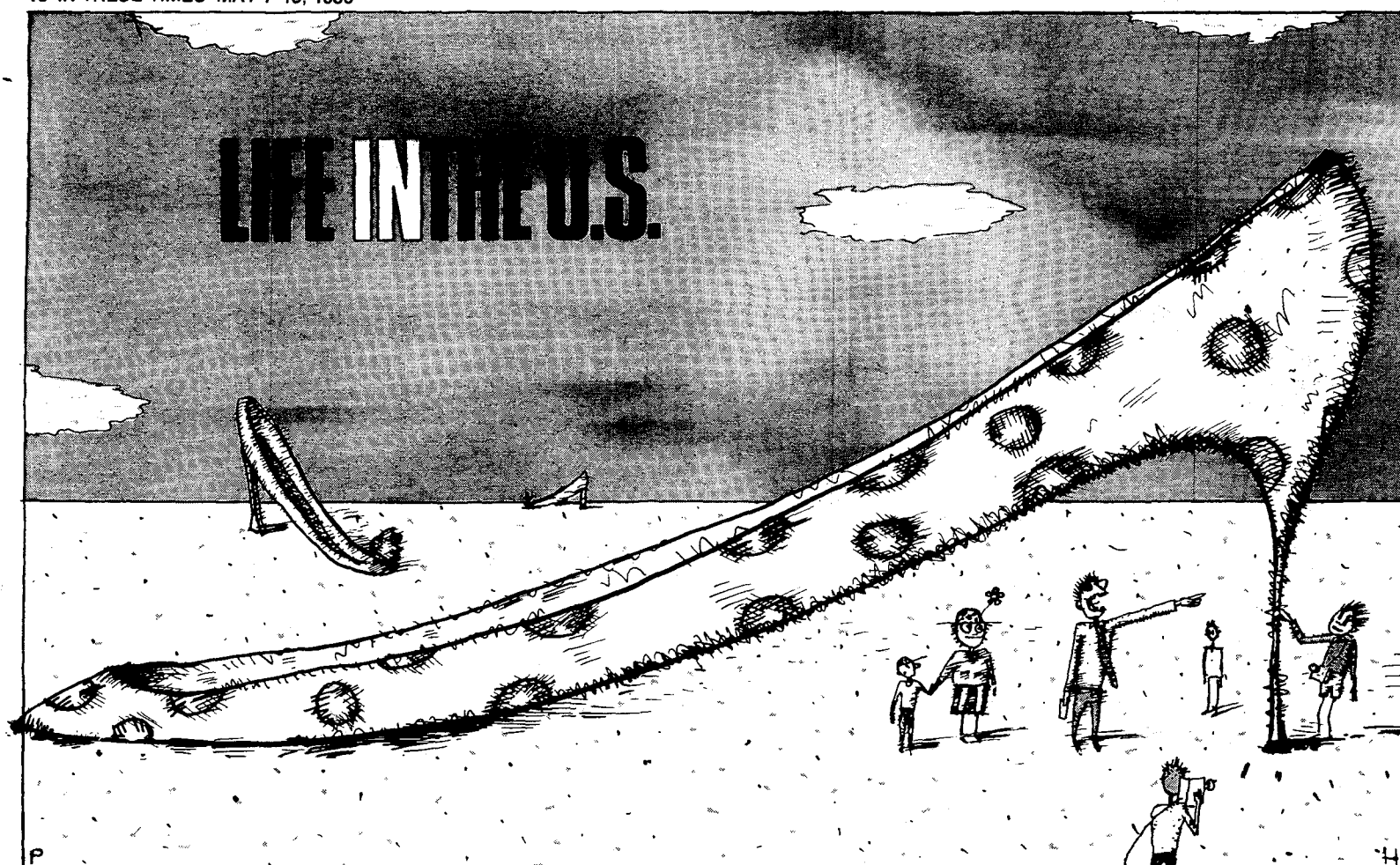
Still, there can be no question that the Bird court is an activist and progressive tribunal. In addition to its liberal record on the death penalty, the court has handed down opinions advancing the rights of women, gays, minorities, tenants and consumers. In an era of shrinking popularity for organized labor, the court has also come to the aid of unions, ruling last year that California law did not prohibit public employee strikes. Bird insists that her decisions are based on legal grounds, but she describes herself as a "liberal progressive judge," concerned with the power of the state and with maintaining a tolerant society and the rights of the individual.

While Bird's opponents point to that philosophy as proof of bias, some of her backers have urged that the court's track record in civil cases could enable the chief justice to take the offensive. Los Angeles attorney Sam Rosenwein, 80, and a charter member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), argues that "all judges come with certain attitudes, views and values. I would tell the people of California to examine all the work this court has done and remember that it has done much good for the great majority."

Rosenwein's suggestion poses yet another dilemma for the Bird campaign. Like it or not, judges are political animals enmeshed in a system in which voters act out of self-interest. But unlike other officials, judges don't represent particular constituencies and there are legal and ethical obstacles, enshrined in the ABA's Code of Judicial Responsibility, that preclude judges from appealing to particular voting blocs. "Judges can't make pledges or commitments about pending cases," reminds CCC's Steve Glazer. "You get press for attacking, challenging and promising, but these things are simply not in a judge's arsenal." Such disparities, Glazer believes, has made the California Supreme Court a sitting duck in a partisan political shootout.

In the meantime, California Republicans are warming to the task. The governorship is also up for grabs in November and Deukmejian has made Bird's defeat the cornerstone of his re-election bid. If the opinion polls which show Bird losing prove true, the "Duke" will get to name Bird's successor and the California Supreme Court can be expected to veer sharply to the right.





## SIGHTSEEING

## Lifestyles of the rich and infamous

By Russell Miller

“A JOKE’S A JOKE,” MY MOTHER used to say. “But keep it up and it’s going to get out of hand.” I think the Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos Walking Tour is out of hand.

It all began one Monday night. My friend Lee Bearson was telling me about his day showing visitors around New York City. (Nowadays, everybody knows Lee and I are friends: that’s how National Public Radio described us. Actually, one guy from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation didn’t trust the U.S. news reports. He asked Lee whether we’re really, really friends. We are. But I’m getting ahead of myself.)

Lee and these visitors had some time to kill near Rockefeller Center, so he took them over to see the Crown Building, an office building on Fifth Avenue. It isn’t on any of the regular tours. It’s important only because it’s allegedly owned by Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. (I’m getting used to saying “allegedly.” All I need is a libel suit. These guys have deep pockets.)

I thought that was a pretty funny thing to do. So did Lee. How could we expand it? Maps of the Marcos holdings in Manhattan—like the maps to the stars’ homes they sell in Beverly Hills. Or maybe a walking tour. A tour of the places Ferdinand and Imelda own in New York. We could check out the places they shopped at, too. Lawyers’ offices. The Philippine Consulate.

You’ve probably heard of the Marcoses. They used to run the Philippines, a small country the United States set up after World War II. It’s about 7,000 islands in the Pacific. You might’ve seen it in old war movies on TV or, more recently, on the network news. In fact, you probably know as much about the Philippines as we do. It wouldn’t be hard.

We knew that the Marcoses had spent a lot of time and money in

Manhattan. It had been in all the newspapers. So one Sunday, we spent a lovely afternoon in a musty library looking through those papers, copying down the addresses of Marcos holdings, the stores Imelda shopped at and the insane amounts of money she dropped at each one.

Everything fit neatly on a map. You could walk it in two, maybe three hours. Okay, we said, let’s go for it. Our friends will come, anyway. Maybe the *Village Voice* will list us as a fun, cheap thing to do and we’ll make a few bucks.

We barely made the *Voice* listings deadline on Wednesday. Thursday the woman from the *Voice* called Lee to ask if we were for real, or CIA or what. Friday she told us she thought the idea was pretty funny; would we be ready if a lot of people showed up? We were going to be the pick “Cheap Thrill” of the week. I forget if I said it to Lee or Lee said it to me: “This may be getting out of hand.” We decided to write a press release.

Sunday it rained. Lee and I walked the tour. Our maps, drawn with felt-tip pens, dripped onto Fifth Avenue. We jotted down jokes. We tried to imagine if they’d be funny to anyone else.

Wednesday, the *Voice* came out. There was the listing, illustrated by a page-high cartoon of the Marcoses standing atop a skyscraper dumping water on us. Lunchtime, I brought copies of the page and the press release around to a few newspapers. Also magazines, local TV stations, the Associated Press.

## Surprise success.

Now it is Thursday morning. I talk with my friend Naomi. She works in the press office of a city agency. Forget it, she says. No one will notice your press release without a follow-up phone call. But who has time for follow-up calls? We have to work for a living.

I beep my answering machine, now programmed with a message about the tour. A political reporter

has called from the *Voice*. I call back. What’s the “surprise ending,” he asks. Do we know something he doesn’t?

Friday morning Jon Kalish calls from National Public Radio. He wants to cover the story for Morning Edition.

Jubilant, I call Lee. But Lee has already been called by WNBC-TV. They want to tape the whole tour for the 6:00 news. They want to make sure we’ll have good “visuals.”

“Visuals?”

The *New York Times* calls. They love the idea, but it won’t fit, schedule-wise. Are we doing the tour again? No, I say, I don’t think so. We’ll stay in touch.

The *New York Times*.

Saturday, some Congressman’s office calls Lee. They saw the tour on the Associated Press wire. Do we know anything they should know? “We’re on the wire!” I shout, exultant.

“Who do these people think we are?” asks Lee.

Sunday, 11:20 a.m. We are in Lee’s apartment, going over last-minute details. The phone rings: WABC, AM radio. At noon, we listen to Lee’s voice on the news. (We tape it.)

Sunday, 2:05 p.m. On the designated corner there stand maybe 50 people—old friends, relatives, strangers clutching the *Voice* listing (it’s good for a half-price ticket), hangers-around, AP reporter with a long skinny notebook, Kalish from NPR with long skinny microphone, TV reporter with bowl-cut sandy hair who knows it’s all funny but doesn’t quite get the joke. A photographer from the *New York Post* is taking pictures from the roof of an illegally parked car.

Lee and I are wearing Panama hats (NPR will call them “cheap”; they cost us 12 bucks a piece) and yellow T-shirts (Cory Aquino’s color, if anybody asks). We’ve got our index cards in our pockets, laden with fun facts. It’s a beautiful day. No Marcos hitmen for miles. We’re feeling popular. We’re

hot.

We introduce ourselves. The TV news guy sees everyone laughing and asks us to repeat our “spiel” for the cameras. As we take off up Avenue of the Americas, about 40 strong, the spirit is festive. Lee’s a little pissed at the obnoxious TV guy: I am scooting about with adrenalin. We’re ready for anything.

Then Kalish asks the question.

He asks it somewhere around 44th Street, his tape recorder rolling.

Yes, it had crossed our minds. We knew someone would ask “Why?” and not take “Fun” for an

## Walking in the New York footsteps of Imelda and Ferdinand turns history into farce.

answer. We just weren’t ready, in the middle of the tour, for someone to ask what we thought of the dark side of the Marcos money trail: a country 70 percent of whose population lives below a poverty line drawn at \$125 a month.

It kind of made the whole thing less funny.

Maybe you heard Lee’s answer on NPR. On one hand, he said, the behavior of the Marcoses is an outrage. On the other hand, you can’t help but laugh.

I agree.

So, perhaps, do WNBC-TV news, who reported on us at 6:00 and 11:00; the newspapers that ran the AP’s account of our tour; the AM radio d.j. who called Lee for a live interview Monday morning (just as NPR was broadcasting Jon Kalish’s report); the Canadian reporter who interviewed us on a conference call from Toronto; Cable News Network; the morning talk-show hosts in Philadelphia

who referred to us on Tuesday; the *Washington Post* and the BBC (“It’s a terrific story. I’m sorry I missed out.”)

I guess we touched a chord. But why? Why did everybody come, and why did we make the evening news, and why did all those other news agencies call to ask when we were doing it again so they could cover it?

And why did my friend the investigative reporter (male) plan to walk the tour wearing an Imelda-style black bra, and why did a left-wing lawyer in Washington stage an “Imelda’s last hurrah” party, and why are people all over the country telling shoe jokes?

## Laughter and power

Why are the Marcoses so funny? And is it politically correct?

I have two theories. One I like. One I don’t.

The one I like comes from Saul Alinsky: ridicule is man’s most potent weapon. If we make fun of Ferdinand and Imelda (if we haul them down by using their first names!), and if we make the reports of their depredations concrete by showing the narrow, gaudy world they live in, we weaken them and we strengthen our own anger, and that leads to good. (That’s why Aquino opened the Marcoses’ palace to the public, right?)

But lots of people shop at the same stores, live in the same condos and bank in Switzerland just like the Marcoses. Smash them all? Not quite what we had in mind. Maybe we didn’t plumb the implications of Marcos-size wealth. The tour was a Sunday stroll, not the proletarian revolution.

Which brings me to my second theory: the one I don’t like. Maybe the Marcos tour was just *Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous*, with envy its ugly underbelly. But, no, that’s unfair. Too many people stayed on past the glittery part to pay homage at Corazon Aquino’s high school. I’m out of theories.

What were we laughing at? The profligate Marcoses are sitting ducks. How many pairs of shoes would Mrs. Botha need to get us talking? Or Mrs. Pinochet, or Mrs. Jaruzelski? For that matter, what do we make of Daniel Ortega’s collection of sunglasses?

Maybe we don’t take the Philippines seriously—or any of a hundred places where our taxes support societies we’d get chills to think about living in. We’d like to figure Cory will solve everything—but we don’t know what “everything” is. Is “our” victory over Marcos like Reagan’s victory over Khadafy? The bogey-man thwarted, our America stands tall. We sleep okay.

Maybe our chuckles are too prideful. Still, some medicine tastes good and heals you anyway. The joke, once told, might wake us up. We can at least recognize our ignorance. Since the tour, I’ve found myself paying close attention to every scrap of information about the Aquino government.

All this pondering convinces me of one thing: the tour has really gotten out of hand. “Hey, man,” I tell myself, “it was a joke. We had some fun; we got some press; and as they said on NPR, we have no plans to do it again.” None. None at all. No plans.

Unless, of course, Japanese TV comes through on their offer to cover the next one live.

Russell Miller, an editor at a children’s magazine, was persuaded to host another tour May 4.





## LOTTERIES

# Whole lotta lotto goin' on

By Ellen Moodie

**T**HE GENIUS OF THE CONCEPT lies in its bald simplicity: persuade people to volunteer their taxes. Make it a game, a combination of Superbowl spectacle and egalitarian idealism. Everyone can

play and anyone can win. The prize? The American dream.

Four U.S. representatives propose just such a program of "revenue enhancement." They call it the national lottery. It won't raise taxes a single penny, they claim, and in five years could bring in as much as \$100 billion. A 1984 Gallup poll

reports that 62 percent of Americans support the idea. In fact, lottery money underpinned our nation's beginnings: the Virginia Company supported the Jamestown settlement through several lotteries in London (see accompanying article).

Around the world more than 100 countries employ some form of a national lottery to supplement federal funds. Today in the U.S. 22 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico sell lottery tickets, lots of lottery tickets. Last August New York sold tickets worth \$36.1 million in just four days. Undaunted by 6.1-million-to-one odds, buyers hoped to win the largest North American jackpot ever—\$41 million.

That, says Rep. Mario Biaggi (D-NY), who submitted one of the five national lottery bills now pending, caught Washington's eye. Such proposals are not new—

politicians have talked about a national lottery for years—but the mega-million profit margins are. "One of our people was making a call to Ways and Means about something else," Biaggi told *New York* magazine, "and they said to him, 'Oh, you're the ones with the lottery bill. We hadn't paid any attention to it, but after the craziness in New York...we're giving it a second look.'" Biaggi's bill outlines a plan to hold a monthly lottery. Profits from the sale of \$1 tickets would go to a deficit-reduction fund.

Two national lottery bills introduced by Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-IL) pin lottery profits to social welfare programs the Reagan administration has reduced in its effort to cut the deficit. One bill details an innovative plan for an annual national lottery tied to the purchase of a special series of savings bonds. Collins proposes lowering the interest rate for the series by 1 percent and collecting the savings in a lottery fund. The profits would go to Medicare, education and child welfare. Her second bill would benefit old-age, survivors and disability insurance programs.

Rep. Austin Murphy (D-PA) also hopes to save social programs with a national lottery. He projects annual payments of at least \$5 billion each to Medicare, Social Security and the national debt. He told the *Socioeconomic Newsletter* last year, "This is a highly progressive way of raising funds. Rather than destroying the integrity of the Medicare program through increased co-payments and deductibles or raising highly regressive payroll taxes, funds can be generated on a voluntary basis."

A fourth congressional proponent, Rep. Thomas Luken (D-OH) took a more cautious stance by introducing legislation providing for the study of a national lottery aimed at reducing the deficit. "It captures the imagination," he says.

Alfred J. Tella, an economist specializing in public policy issues, believes a national lottery is an ideal way to cut the deficit. He wrote in the *New York Times* in 1984: "Players would have the opportunity to help out the country financially, become very rich and have fun. It could easily become a national pastime."

### State by state

"Lotteries are becoming part of our general social fabric," says H. Roy Kaplan, a professor at the Florida Institute of Technology and author of the book *Lottery Winners*. "As

more states legalize them, it lays the groundwork for a national lottery."

When New Hampshire initiated the first contemporary U.S. lottery in 1964, skeptics scoffed at the "ruse," predicting it would quickly fade from lack of interest. No one could have imagined the frenzied lotto-mania of today. The \$5.7 million New Hampshire grossed that year grew to a national total of \$8 billion in 1984, and close to \$12 billion in 1985. (But less than half made it to state treasuries. Exact figures vary, but most states award at least 40 percent of the take in prizes and pay about 15 percent in administrative costs. Straight taxes, by contrast, are vastly more efficient as a source of revenue: they cost about 1 cent on the dollar to collect.)

Over 20 years state lottery winners have collected more than \$20 billion in prizes. *USA Today* reports that more than 1,444 millionaires made their fortunes through lotteries.

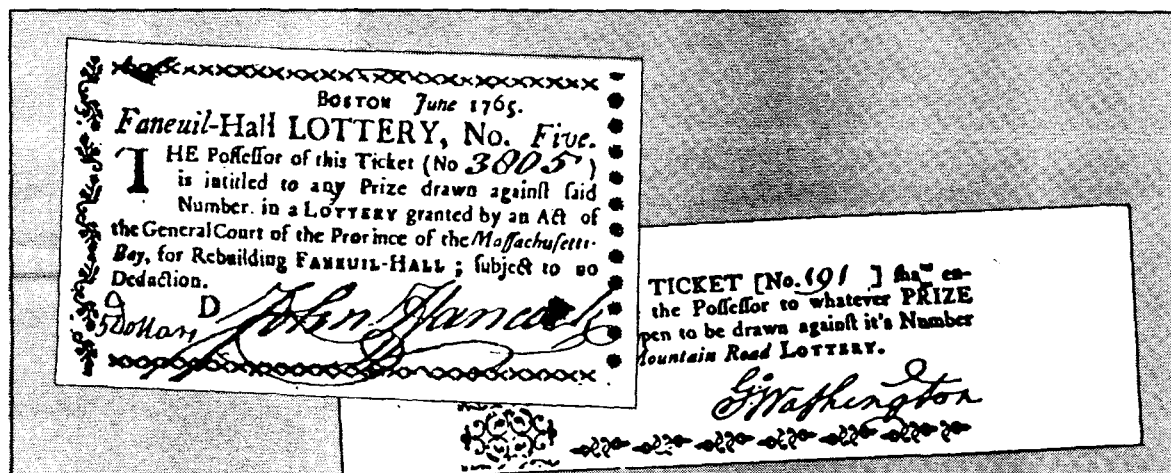
## Legislators promoted lotteries as a "painless" way to bring in needed revenue.

John Findlay, an assistant history professor at Pennsylvania State University and author of *People of Chance: Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas*, sees two major factors contributing to the trend toward state lotteries. "First, we're more inclined to accept gambling as a legitimate activity today. The savings ethic is falling by the wayside; we see gambling as increasingly acceptable. And then in the '70s there were a number of economic crises—shortfalls of revenue, tight budgets at the state level."

The taxpayer revolts of the '70s forced legislators to find revenue alternatives; they promoted lotteries as a "painless" way to bring in needed money. To mollify stubborn moralists, they often earmarked lottery profits for "good" causes: for example, education in Illinois and New York, senior citizen programs in Pennsylvania, parks and recreation projects in Colorado.

But what that extra money actually does is enrich states as a whole, as Verenda Smith of the Illinois Department of Revenue explains. "The whole thing is book-

*Continued on following page*



## Gambling's revolutionary history

If one of the five national lottery bills now pending in Congress passes, the government will reestablish an institution dating back to the first colonial settlement in America. Between 1612-15 the Virginia Company held four lotteries in London to support the Jamestown venture.

John Findlay, who describes the history of gambling in America in his recently released book *People of Chance: Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas* (Oxford, 1986), writes of the early lotteries: "This mode of raising capital was quite appropriate for planning a settlement in the New World. Participants in both speculations were aptly termed 'adventurers' and for both colonists in Jamestown and the ticket-holders in England, the pros-

pects for success were not very good."

Over the next 250 years lotteries became important grease in the wheels of a growing democracy. Currency was scarce and credit mostly undeveloped, so lotteries helped facilitate public and private business. Even if they lost in a lottery, colonists could believe that they were contributing to the creation of a new society. Gambling seemed less sinister as revenue raising even to puritans, because of the "good" causes—Ivy League universities, the Revolutionary Army—that lotteries financed. Before 1820 Congress passed more than 70 acts authorizing lotteries to fund schools, roads and other public projects.

But by the 1830s both moralistic reformers and idealistic Jack-

sonians were decrying state-sponsored gambling. Reformers, Findlay says, wanted to "remove the temptations such as gambling that impeded the spirit of individual perfectibility." Jacksonians argued that governments should protect the honest workers from the temptation of receiving wealth without labor.

It was an interesting bit of hypocrisy. Andrew Jackson himself gambled frequently. His supporters believed, Findlay writes, that "gentlemen like Jackson could clearly afford to play and were apparently immune to the temptations that seduced less worthy men." In the end, though, charges of internal abuses and corruption, not political puritanism, doomed lotteries. By the Civil War all states had banned them. —E.M.



# INPRINT

## SCIENCE

### The Dialectical Biologist

By Richard Levins and Richard Lewontin

Harvard University Press,  
303 pp., \$20 hardcover

By Billy Goodman

FOR MOST PEOPLE, THE TERM radical science is an oxymoron. How can science be radical? Aren't scientists the white men in white coats who search dispassionately for objective truths about reality? Richard Levins and Richard Lewontin are Harvard biologists and Marxists, who strive to do their science in a dialectical mode.

They argue, as other Marxists and non-Marxist scientists have with increasing frequency, that every scientist carries some unacknowledged ideological baggage. The recognition of that subjectivity is the first step toward radical science, though in fact it is becoming something of a given even among scientists who reject the radical label.

Subjectivity doesn't mean, as the authors put it, that the speed of light is different for a Marxist observer. It does mean, however, that one's biases and world view dictate the sorts of questions deemed worth asking and the universe of answers worth looking at.

*The Dialectical Biologist* is a collection of 14 essays written during the last decade that illustrate, explain and advocate a dialectical approach to science. But it isn't until halfway through the book that the authors finally ask, "Can there be a Marxist science?" And it really isn't until the last essay, a conclusion written specifically for this volume, that they attempt to explain what dialectics is.

I say attempt, because dialectics

## Radical biologists checking their ideological baggage

remains slippery. Some of its tenets seem clear, for example a commitment to change. "The difference between the reductionist and the dialectician," the authors write, "is that the former regards constancy as the normal condition, to be proven otherwise, while the latter expects change but accepts apparent constancy." But is the recognition that change is universal peculiar to dialectics? Many biologists that Levins and Lewontin

*Subjectivity doesn't mean the speed of light is different for a Marxist observer. It does mean, however, that 'bias' dictates the questions to be asked.*

might regard as reductionists view evolution as a process of constant gradual change.

### Shooting holes in holism

Another critical element of the dialectical view is the "interpenetration" of parts and wholes. By this the authors mean that parts and wholes determine each other, in contrast to the reductionist view that wholes are determined by their parts. Reductionism has had great success in physics, chemistry and molecular biology, but Levins and Lewontin argue that it has failed in complex systems such as biological communities.

Nevertheless, the authors are also opposed to what some regard as the antithesis of reductionism—holism, or, as the authors put it, "obscurantist holism." They regard adherents of holism—the view that one can explain complex systems by some ideal organizing principle and ignore the parts entirely—as good-hearted but naive.

The major success of dialectical biology is the understanding (such as it is) of the origin of life. Modern views on the topic owe much to Marxist scientists of the '30s, '40s and '50s. They argued that conditions on the early earth were favorable to the start of life, but life as it evolved changed the environment, essentially creating better conditions for itself by

eliminating the conditions that made its origin possible. The dialectical aspect is that organisms are not just passive receivers of their environment; they help make that environment.

Some of these insights into dialectics can be gleaned from *The Dialectical Biologist's* first two parts, comprising six essays. But those essays are sophisticated analyses of biological problems, addressed to audiences familiar with current evolutionary and ecological theory. The book's third section, seven essays under the heading "Science as a Social Product and the Social Product of Science," is a plea for using a dialectical approach to biological problems, and is more accessible than the first two parts.

### Science and politics do mix

Levins and Lewontin bring an emotional concern for agriculture and Third World science that illustrates the involved stance they advocate for scientists. Science cannot be separated from social and political questions, they argue. Therefore, scientists must take an interest in the applications of their work.

For example, Levins and Lewontin believe that capitalist agricultural research has served two purposes: a quest for profit and a quest for social control by enlarg-

ing the docile, capitalist class. Their treatment of the second goal is not convincing, but they show that the first has undoubtedly influenced agricultural research.

Farmers once obtained seed for next year's corn by picking out the best ears and saving them. Today, most farmers use hybrid corn, which must be purchased each year from seed companies, since it doesn't breed true. The advantage of hybrid corn is that it produces higher yields than open-pollinated corn. But the seed companies have put no effort into improving open-pollinated corn, which the farmers wouldn't have to buy annually. Levins and Lewontin believe open-pollinated corn might now be better than hybrid varieties if the appropriate research had been done.

It seems fitting that a book on the dialectical method in biology should occasionally provoke strong feelings of contradiction and opposition in a reader, since dialectics teaches that knowledge comes from the resolution of apparent contradiction. But dialectical materialism is not going to win many converts with paragraphs like the following:

"To put the matter succinctly, what distinguishes abstractions from ideals is that abstractions are epistemological consequences of the attempt to order and predict real phenomena, while ideals are regarded as ontologically prior to their manifestation in objects."

Happily, the sometimes turgid prose does not ruin what is otherwise a thought-provoking critique of misplaced reductionism in science and an impassioned call for a radical science.

**Billy Goodman** is editor at the *Bell Museum of Natural Science* in Minneapolis.

*Continued from page 19*  
keeping. The lottery dollars may go directly to support education, but if the legislature sees the lottery profits increase by, say, a million dollars, they might cut down on the amount coming in from other revenue-raising devices."

Some fear a national lottery would compete directly with state contests. "It would be funneling money away from state coffers to national funds," says Crys Crystall, news editor of *Lottery Players Magazine*.

Economist Tella disagrees. He says his research shows that a national lottery would stimulate more interest in lotteries overall. As evidence he cites data for tickets purchased during the competition for New York's \$41 million pot last year, pointing out that the neighboring states of New Jersey and Connecticut all experienced increased lottery participation.

Crystall believes that is the exception rather than the rule, however, because "the jackpot was 30 times higher than it normally is, so for that one time, people played both lotteries."

Gail Howard, lottery editor of *Gambling Times Magazine* and publisher of *Lottery Advantage*, echoes him, saying, "There is only a certain amount of playing dollars around."

Tella responds by suggesting that skittish state lottery officials could be placated, if necessary, with a cooperative revenue-sharing system similar to Canada's.

The lottery is hardly an Amer-

ican innovation. As a group only fundamentalist Moslem countries prohibit lotteries. While countries ranging from Panama to India, from the Soviet Union to the Ivory Coast and from Spain to Japan offer national lotteries, Canada probably offers the best model for the U.S. The country partially funded the Montreal Olympics with a contest in which \$1 tickets bought chances at million-dollar prizes. When Ottawa considered reviving the game in 1978, the provinces—with their own lotteries—protested. Today the Interprovincial Lottery Corporation runs two cooperative lotteries, Superloto and Lotto 6/49, which share profits among participating provinces (still holding their separate games) and transfer about \$30 million to the federal treasury each year.

Like most countries, Canada awards all the jackpot money tax-free and in one chunk. By contrast, the U.S. state lotteries dole out federally-taxed prizes over a long period of time, usually 20 years. Winners actually receive annuities, not the stupendous amounts hyped by the press. (When the New York Lottery advertised a \$41 million prize, there was only \$17 million in the jackpot, according to Howard.)

Most lottery players will readily admit that they don't play to support their governments, but because they want to win. In fact, they expect to win. "Everyone who buys lottery tickets tells you they're going to win—tonight. But if not tonight, then tomorrow, or

next week, or next month," Howard says.

After all, this is the land of opportunity. And if a lottery is anything it is a paragon of opportunity, absolutely equal opportunity. The odds—1000 to one for daily games of 6.1 million to one for the \$41 million jackpot—apply to everyone: rich, middle-class and poor.

But those odds inevitably make for a lot of losers. Equal opportunity really means equal opportunity to lose. Even illegal numbers games give better returns. Andy Rooney capsulized the issue on a recent segment of *60 Minutes*: "I always thought it should be a law that every time a gambling casino or a state-operated lottery announces the names of winners, it would be compelled to name all the losers. It would be a very long list."

To lottery supporters, Rooney and his fellow cynics completely miss the point. They say people play the lottery because it's fun and because they have a fair chance at winning. In an unfair world lotteries offer indisputable impartiality. Besides, players are only losers until they buy another ticket.

### A regressive tax?

Opponents further contend that those who think luck rules their fortunes and by chance life has dealt them a bad hand—a.k.a. the lower classes—play in numbers disproportionate to their percentage in the population. And that

means the lottery constitutes a tax on the poor, a regressive form of revenue-raising.

Supporting data bounces back and forth between the two schools of thought. Dr. John Koza (chairman and co-founder of Scientific Games, Inc., a division of Bally Manufacturing, a major lottery-supplies producer) surveyed 6,504,237 winners of 140 lottery games run by five states. He concluded in an article published in *Public Gaming* magazine, "It is not until the above-average income category of \$23,000 to \$33,000 that participation rises above the national average." But a national survey by the Florida attorney general's office contradicts his findings, reporting that the poor bought tickets at three times their income share.

Dreaming is not limited to any particular segment of the population, of course. Everyone fantasizes about defying the odds. Many people are at least tempted by a chance at fabulous fortunes.

Chances are a national lottery won't pass in the 99th Congress. About 40,000 bills are submitted every year, and only 1,000 are signed into law every two years—odds of 80 to one. Economist Tella and author Kaplan agree the time isn't right—yet. "Who else but Uncle Sam," asks Tella, "could sell us a \$10-million daydream for a buck?"

Perhaps lotteries don't promote daydreams as much as they exploit disillusionment with ineffective governments. Lotteries offer the

only chance—however slight—many people will ever have for change, for success. True, this applies to all governments with lotteries, but it is characteristically American to make the game a glitzy spectacle. Lottery advertising—which some people say would be illegal if state governments weren't exempt from FCC regulations—dangles dollars as if winning millions were as easy as bobbing for apples.

In *Lottery Advantage*, Howard publishes systems for choosing lottery numbers based on mathematical probability (she claims two jackpot winners used her system). "I get letters saying, 'Please give me some winning numbers. I need a new carpet upstairs,'" she says. "Who needs \$30 million for new carpet upstairs?"

A new carpet upstairs is not the stuff of magic—and certainly not the kind of fantasy to inspire people to stand in line for five hours or more, as they did for a chance at \$41 million in New York last summer. And despite the preposterous odds, three ticketholders did guess the combination for that jackpot.

The winners? A part-time barmaid, a computer consultant and a melting-pot group of 21 factory workers, 19 of whom were immigrants. "Only in America," *Life* magazine captioned a photo of the winners. "Where else could 21 guys from so many places make so much in so little time?"

**Ellen Moodie** was an *In These Times* intern.



## CENTRAL AMERICA

Noam Chomsky's  
erudite passion

**Turning the Tide: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace**

By Noam Chomsky  
South End Press, 298 pp.,  
\$10 (paper)

By George Scialabba

IN THE LATE '60S, RADICAL criticism of the Indochina war occasionally appeared in a few mainstream journals. That episode so frightened the guardians of American political orthodoxy that it has not been repeated. A class-conscious, well-funded, largely successful effort has been made by right-wing foundations, research institutes, journals and watchdog organizations to restore ideological uniformity in the media and to stamp out the "Vietnam syndrome"—doubts about the automatic rightness of American military intervention—among the population.

One of the chief offenders in the '60s was Noam Chomsky, whose widely discussed essays in the *New York Review of Books* were among the New Left's most notable intellectual and moral achievements. Two decades later, with the U.S. beginning another disastrous intervention, Chomsky has written another powerful and eloquent statement in opposition. This time around, criticism of this sort will not find its way, even occasionally, into the major media. But if the left is ever to get at the institutional roots of American foreign policy, and have a chance of preventing future catastrophes, facts and analyses like those in Chomsky's *Turning the Tide* will be indispensable.

Many Americans may be aware that the U.S. has intervened repeatedly in Central America and that the results have not always been benign. The first part of *Turning the Tide* lays out this history in searing detail. Chomsky quotes extensively from the diplomatic record to illustrate the U.S.' chronic contempt for international law and the principle of self-determination. He cites the reports of church groups and human-rights organizations that document the recurrent plagues of violent repression and extreme deprivation within the U.S. sphere of influence. "No region of the world," he points out, "has been more subject to U.S. influence over a long period than Central America and the Caribbean. ... We naturally look to this region, then, if we want to learn something about ourselves, just as we look to Eastern Europe or the 'internal empire' if we want to learn about the Soviet Union. The picture we see is not a pretty one." In fact, the picture is horrifying.

#### Foreign policy Fate of the Earth

If *Turning the Tide* did no more than record the history of U.S. intervention in Central America and describe its appalling aftermath, the book would still be a considerable accomplishment—something like a foreign-policy version of Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the Earth*. Schell's book was galvaniz-

ing, but of limited strategic value; it vividly portrayed the lethal consequences of international conflict, but did not inquire very deeply into the causes. Chomsky's aim, however, is above all analytic.

Any such analysis must confront a broad consensus about the nature of American foreign policy. Liberal and conservative commentators may differ about which principles U.S. policy is based on: promoting democracy and human rights or national security or the geopolitical balance of power. But they all agree that it is based on one or another principle, on some general, "national" interest rather than on the narrow interests of those who hold domestic power and therefore control the policymaking process. Probably the most dismaying aspect of mainstream debate over Reagan's Central American policy has been the extent to which even opponents accept this policy's fundamental assumptions: that the existence of an independent—i.e., "Communist"—regime anywhere in the Western Hemisphere is a threat to "our national interest" (though perhaps not enough of one, liberals object, to justify overthrowing it by force) and that U.S. concern over Sandinista authoritarianism stems from our historic commitment to safeguarding democratic freedoms everywhere (though this noble goal is perhaps not worth the risk of getting bogged down in another Vietnam-type quagmire). Once such premises are accepted, it is not at all clear that Reagan has the worst of the argument.

These assumptions are themselves part of the problem, and *Turning the Tide* challenges them forcefully. What, for example, is the "national interest"? As a rule, this crucial term is left conveniently vague. The reason is that, in practice, the national interest usually turns out to mean freedom of operation abroad for American business and finance—i.e., easy tax and profit-repatriation laws, access to natural resources, conversion of agriculture to cash crops for export, austerity in social-welfare programs, restraints on unions and other popular organizations, etc. Naturally, policymakers find it difficult to be explicit about all this. That might raise awkward questions about precisely which Americans benefit from U.S. support for client regimes that impose such conditions, often through horrendous repression.

In internal planning documents, many of which Chomsky quotes, officials are more candid. Here is George Kennan, now something of a dove but formerly Policy Planning Director of the State Department, in a classified memorandum from 1948: "We have about 50 percent of the world's wealth, but only 6.3 of its population.... Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity.... To do so, we will have to dispense with all sentimentality and day-dreaming.... We need not deceive ourselves that we can afford the luxury of altruism and world-benefac-

*Noam Chomsky casts his critical eye upon U.S. Central America policy.*

tion.... We should cease to talk about vague and...unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of living standards and democratization.... The less we are hampered by idealistic slogans, the better." So much for shibboleths about American "benevolence," "good intentions," "naivete" and so forth.

#### Communism redefined

In another obscure but significant document quoted by Chomsky, "communism" is defined as the transformation of societies "in ways which reduce their willingness and ability to complement the industrial economies of the West." This revealing formulation puts anticommunism in a new light. *Turning the Tide* is full of ideological demystification of this sort, invaluable for a sustained and radical critique of American foreign policy.

Readers of Chomsky's previous books, especially *The Political Economy of Human Rights* and *Towards a New Cold War*, will be familiar with some of the foregoing arguments. What is new in *Turning the Tide* is a parallel critique of the arms race. Like some opponents of interventionism, opponents of the arms race occasionally fall into the trap of accepting the premises of official policy: in this case, that the purpose of military spending is national defense. Liberal critics (and even some in the disarmament movement) emphasize that technical innovations in weaponry often do not increase security, and even diminish it, for example by forcing both sides to adopt launch-on-warning strategies. They also complain that fantastically complex technologies like Star Wars "won't work" or will "waste resources."

According to Chomsky, these criticisms are true, indeed obvious, but beside the point. The purpose of military spending is not defense but economic management. "The Pentagon system," he writes, "has become the American

system of industrial policy." The Great Depression and World War II convinced corporate and governmental planners that only continuous state intervention could stabilize the economy over the long term. But a form of intervention had to be found that did not threaten corporate prerogatives, as would be the case with income redistribution or government-subsidized production to meet genuine human needs. The solution arrived at, and adhered to by both Democrats and Republican administrations, was "military Keynesianism": in Chomsky's words, "the creation of a state-guaranteed market for high-technology, rapidly obsolescing waste production, i.e., armaments."

The public must somehow be induced to pay for these huge subsidies to the defense industry, so an elaborate mythology about the "monolithic and ruthless [Communist] conspiracy" (John F. Kennedy) has been erected and maintained. It is the same mythology that is regularly invoked to gain public support for U.S. interventions in the Third World on behalf

of a favorable investment climate. In both cases, the costs of the policy are borne by the society as a whole, while the benefits go primarily to those who own and manage the private economy. To obscure this fact is, in Chomsky's view, the essential function of Cold War ideology.

In the final chapter of *Turning the Tide*, Chomsky assesses the difficulties facing those who want to challenge intervention and militarism. The chief difficulty is the extremely low level of effective democracy in the contemporary U.S. Following Thomas Ferguson and other radical scholars, Chomsky argues that democracy is not a matter of voter turnout (which in any case is close to an all-time low at present), but of the extent to which secondary associations flourish—organizations such as unions, cooperatives, community organizations, independent media and political parties. American history, as Chomsky recounts it, is a virtually unbroken record of intense and sophisticated assaults by business elites and the state against these secondary associations. The result is what Ferguson calls "elite investor dominance" as the only remaining outlets for political expression: the major parties and the major media. And these elites are, of course, the same groups in whose interest foreign policy and defense policy are formulated.

This is a grim picture: the institutional structures underlying the Cold War turn out to be even more deeply entrenched than many of us had recognized. Still, for all its relentless realism, *Turning the Tide* is not a discouraging book, if only through the force of its example. Better than anyone else now writing, Chomsky combines indignation with insight, erudition with moral passion. That is a difficult achievement, and an encouraging one. ■

George Scialabba lives in Cambridge and writes frequently about politics and social theory.



Lionel Delvingne

*According to Chomsky, the Pentagon system has become the American system of industrial policy.*



## Quotas

Continued from page 6

"Both sides are right, because this is a remarkably confusing decision. What is clear is that there are going to be lots of law review articles about it, more heat, more controversy and more litigation."

### Bittersweet home Alabama

The Justice Department has also gone to court in Birmingham, Ala., challenging an affirmative action plan it helped negotiate there four years ago. The Birmingham plan, mandated by a court decree, was designed to aid promotions for blacks and women in the police and fire departments. Now, in a stark reversal, the Justice Department has joined 10 white policemen and fire fighters who say the plan blocked their rights to promotion.

They filed suit in 1983 charging reverse discrimination on two counts—race and sex. City officials have countered the suit by insisting their plan strictly follows the program approved by the courts and the Reagan administration in 1981. Mayor Richard Arrington Jr., the city's first black mayor and a Democrat, is disappointed by the department's latest intervention in his city.

"The Reagan administration is joining the rather persistent attacks to undermine or completely undo our decree," he says.

"They have reneged."

"This city was once steeped in discrimination. If affirmative action can't prevail here, it can't prevail anywhere in America."

The Justice Department's line follows its argument in the Indianapolis suit. Says Reynolds, "If there is an allegation of discrimination, the government's responsibility under the law is to come in and say we're against discrimination on account of race."

### Progress stalled in Motown

A similar argument was applied in Detroit. There, the Reagan administration has chosen a case also brought on by white police officers who claim to be victims of reverse discrimination—a charge being championed by such organizations as the Fraternal Order of Police.

What makes this case different, however, is that at the outset both sides agree a pattern of discrimination existed in Detroit before the election of its first black mayor, Coleman Young.

Prior to Young's election, blacks were drastically underrepresented on the Detroit police department relative to their numbers in the inner city. No one argued that an affirmative action plan was needed to increase the number of blacks in the department's ranks or to promote them to positions of authority. At issue is the plan ultimately adopted by the city under Young to reverse the previously discriminatory pattern of hiring.

White officers have charged that the department's merit system was deliberately "rigged" to allow for black promotions even if a white was higher on the list.

But the Detroit lawsuit has its own ironic twist. In 1984, Young found himself at odds with black organizations when he admitted that the city did not have the revenue to rehire 800 laid-off black police officers. A U.S. district judge had ordered him to do so within 180 days. Young, however, said he'd have to lay off 1,000 city workers to rehire the black police officers who had been laid off in the budget-cutting move. A lawsuit filed by the black police officers charged that Young had violated the city's affirmative action plan when he approved their lay-offs.

With the problems facing Detroit, Indianapolis and Birmingham, the entire issue of quota hirings hangs in the balance. And it brings home a warning issued by the National Black Police Association when it opposed the 1984 nomination of Edwin Meese as U.S. attorney general. (The association represents 34,000 black police officers nationwide.) Meese's appointment, the association warned, was "a signal to minorities, women and the poor that violations of civil rights laws would increase."

There are scores of black police officers, firefighters, women and civil rights groups that would concur with the association's warning.

Leonard Sykes Jr. is a reporter for the *Waukegan [Ill.] News-Sun*.

## The Mats

Continued from page 24

The Replacements, on the other hand, don't mix with any of the right people. Indeed, they often seem at war with one another musically if not physically. Long before Cyndi Lauper *et al* launched wrestling-mania as a media self-promotion strategy, onstage rough-housing at Replacements shows had established the precedent of hammer-lock rock.

### Replacement parts

Body slams notwithstanding, in concert the band is powered by a strange inner dynamism. The emotional ebb and flow of song-smith/lead singer Paul Westerberg drives and drains the band by turns. When his intensity wanes, the band isn't worth a flat tap beer, but when Westerberg burns bright, the Replacements' indigenous roots-rock brew is definitely better than the high-priced imports and workaday domestic stock that gluts the musical mainstream. Flanked by flailing Stinsons (Tommy and Bob) pounding bass and guitar respectively (never respectfully), and backed by Chris Mars' solid drumming, Westerberg leads the group through awkward lulls and sudden flashes of passion.

The Mats' underground reputation for occasional brilliance and more frequent mediocrity is well earned. You never know if Bob will show up in drag and play like a demon or smile angelically and be a drag. Paul might sing his heart out—poignantly transcending the natural limitations of his rasping voice; unless he decides to cede the microphone to a front-row fan for the encore. They're prone to giddy jags of TV-show theme songs (*Brady Bunch*, *Jetsons*, *Flintstones*, *Gilligan's Island*) and bad Top-40 hits ("Love Grows Where My Rosemary Goes," "I Just Wanna Rock 'n' Roll All Night" and "Hitchin' a Ride"). But their impulsive forays can go from spontaneous fun to intense, stupefying boredom in mere seconds.

The Replacements might not be the only band that matters—as politically-minded critics dubbed the Clash. Seeing the Replacements you sometimes get the feeling that nothing matters at all. They seem more like the band that time forgot. But the Replacements aren't merely prisoners of the past—theirs or anyone else's.

Their early recorded efforts reflected the ricocheting hormones, aggressive directness and smirking precociousness of boys of a certain age. Freight trains impersonating songs from that period like "Fuck School" and "[Need a] Goddamned Job" have given way to slightly less careening tunes on *Tim* and *Let It Be*. Early on, the perfunctory "punk" nihilism—served up with a heaping side order of sarcasm ("I hate music, there's too many notes")—created an aura of prefab *weltschmerz*, a world-weariness that seemed largely unearned for teenagers who still lived at home with their folks.

As aging rockers in their early 20s, however, the band's adolescent smirk is slipping a bit. Which is all to the good. The outward-directed hardcore anger, with its emotional roots in punk, is being supplanted by a melancholia that owes more to a country and western ethos. Curiously, the twin tributaries of punk nihilism and country nihilism have come together for the Replacements—and while it's not everybody's idea of a great spot for a baptism, it seems to be some sort of purification for the band.

For instance, on the Mats' first LP, Westerberg's arrogant sneer-of-a-song about a junkie-guitarist's appointment with death in "Johnny's Gonna Die" is little more than a nasty taunt. On *Tim*, in contrast, Westerberg offers the hazy first-person alcoholism of "Here Comes a Regular"—no less tragic, but with a dollop of empathy. The band's churning and charmingly obnoxious thud-rock has matured into more articulated musical forms to match this lyrical shift. Of course, they haven't sworn off sneering altogether—*Tim*'s bouncy ditty "Waitress in the Sky" is a playfully snotty nose-thumb directed toward snooty steward. And

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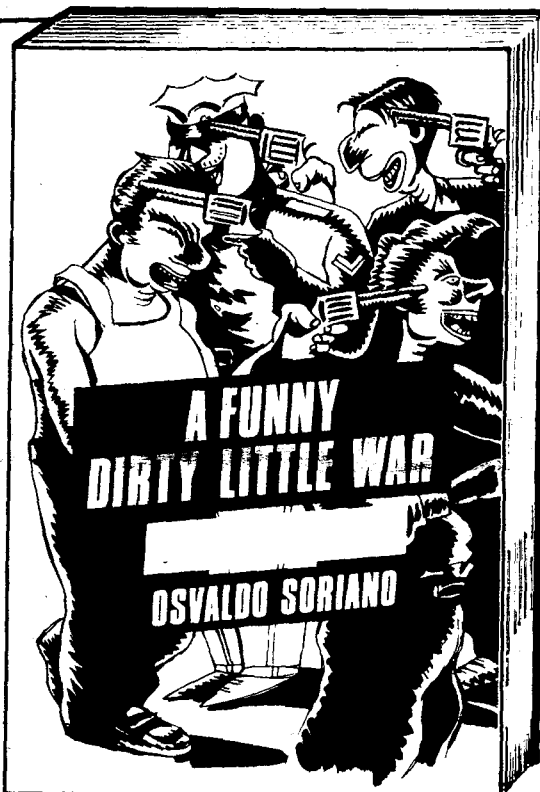
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naturally the word "mature" must be used advisedly in light of songs like "Gary's Got a Boner."

Youth cult obit

More often on *Tim* and *Let It Be*, however, the band's songs show a fitful new compassion. It's as if Westerberg and crew are reaching the uncomfortable realization that they fit in with the losers they've mocked in the past. Westerberg's new perspective is particularly sharp on the clangorous, rocking eulogy of the youth culture, "Bastards of Young." When he sings "We are the sons of no one, bastards of young—the daughters and the sons," he's referring to the way rock culture has been orphaned by disinterest and demographics.

Kids Westerberg's age don't have a prayer of being Elvis or the Beatles; that niche is no longer available because not enough people are interested in rock these days. The pig has moved through the python. Yuppies and their demographic playmates are now too old to frolic in clubland every night, and they don't buy as many records or groove on vague rebelliousness the way they did back in their glory days. Perhaps this crowd once advocated Power to the People, but today they are inclined to favor Porsches for their People.

The Replacements' alienation from the youth culture that spawned them makes the band and their generation bastards of young. But confronting the yuppie question is nothing new for the band. It was an irony they bumped into constantly in Minneapolis as a blue-collar rock band in the whitest of white-collar towns. There is, of course, the parallel irony that Minneapolis is already a big-time funk vortex though it has a smaller black population than Des Moines. Some commentators have noted that the relatively

small black population presents less of a threat to the status quo, which allows blacks greater artistic and economic freedom. And the same might be true of blue-collar types in a town dominated by colleges, engineering firms, and high-tech businesses. (To take a less sinister tack, the six months of miserable weather a year might also have the effect of driving musicians into their basements to rehearse—as a recent escapee from that artsy gulag, I can assure you that there's not much else to do all winter.)

At any rate, the Replacements are misfits (a mandatory rock myth). Their town is a mass of contradictions, not the least of which is the political hangover of Humphrey/DFL populist sentiments and '60s-styled activism in a decidedly upscale market. The Replacements fit neatly into this snowball of class contradictions. And the situation becomes ironically tinged with overtones of worship-of-the-working-class and common man as *objet d'art* when you consider that the Replacements are high-

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school grad city kids while the local critics and fans who first lionized them are mostly middle- to upper-middle-class college-educated kids from the suburbs. (Myself included, Jack, so don't work yourself into a frenzy.)

But will success spoil the Replacements? I'm sure the band hopes so, but at the moment they're in no danger of getting spoiled—for all the praise their latest album drew in the press, *Tim* has shown lackluster sales. I suppose the Replacements deserve the opportunity to become rich young bastards instead of remaining bastards of

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young. But the question may just boil down to an ugly number-crunching that has nothing to do with merit. As the baby boom pig-in-the-python moves on toward middle age, perhaps there will be no place in the marketplace for a great band like the Replacements. Maybe guys like Paul Westerberg will always be a little out of step with the times. And maybe that's what makes them angry and sad and excited all at once. I think they call it rock'n'roll.

Ed Rifferey Jr. is a pop-culture culture whose writing has appeared in *Variety* and the *Utne Reader*, among other places.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

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May 10

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May 10

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Laura Levine/Miles DeCoster

By Ed Rifferey Jr.

**T**HE MUCH-LAUDED "POPULIST" rock of blue-collar bossman Bruce Springsteen and his faint xeroxed copy John Cougar Melloncamp, brings to mind that grungy four-piece "critics' band" from Minneapolis, the Replacements, and their latest album, *Tim*.

If the Replacements had more media savvy or a song on *Tim* with "USA" in the title, the band might toboggan to fame on the coattails of Springsteen and Melloncamp's *People*-mag populism. It's all the rage. Even James "Livin' in America" Brown sounds more like a patriotic beer commercial than his bad-old self these days. He's getting down, all right—down to business. Boring in the USA? You bet. And it's selling like red-white-and-blue hotcakes.

In the pantheon of blue-collar rock, Brown's a deserving legend, Melloncamp an impending asterisk, with Springsteen falling somewhere in between. No doubt Springsteen's heart is in the right place—witness his gigging for good causes worldwide. But the boss is several years

removed from the hard edge of poverty—as bosses often are. Money changes everything, doncha know. Springsteen may be the hardest-working, working-class millionaire in showbiz, but the Replacements don't need a time machine to remember their squalid roots. They're still there now: on the edge of poverty, on the edge of fame.

Not that the Replacements are overtly political in any agit-pop sense of the word—the only axes grinding for these boys are electric guitars. Rather, the Replacements embody the unchanneled anger and the rebellious attitude often ascribed to the working class. Like most working stiffs, the Replacements sometimes work too hard, sometimes drink too hard and sometimes think too hard about things they can't change. There's nothing unduly heroic about the band or their fixation on the romance of failure and the failure of romance. Yet there's a raw elegance in the band's plainspoken lyrics and rough-hewn music—an unschooled intelligence that's alternatively surly and squirrelly.

#### Minneapolis mystique

After a handful of critically acclaimed but largely ignored records on Minneapolis' in-

dependent label Twin Tone, the band made the leap up to major-league record label Sire for *Tim*. Though the Mats, as the Replacements are sometimes known, have barely dented the popular consciousness in terms of mainstream radio airplay or mega-unit record sales, they've been making small ripples in many of the right places. For one thing, they're in the right place at the right time. Minneapolis is the hip recording address these days. National Public Radio has dubbed this vinyl valhalla "the Motown of the '80s" largely on the strength of the black music scene stemming from Prince's various offshoots and antagonists such as the Time, Morris Day, Andre Cymone and Terry Lewis and Jimmy Jam's hit-making production team.

Now the white boys are showing that they can do it, too. Hüsker Dü's hardcore punk crooning and the Mats' grinding pop angst have proven as popular with critics as Minneapolis' black pop has been with the record-buying public.

The Mats are perhaps the quintessential critics' band. More than anything else, rock critics desire to divine raw talent through a welter of technical limitations. They favor singers who can barely sing (typical faves:

Bob Dylan, Tom Waits, Captain Beefheart, Randy Newman, Pere Ubu's David Thomas). Scribes also prefer inept (or barely ept) instrumentalists—though virtuoso players who obscure their talents through alcohol and drug abuse are okay, too. And like most of the rest of us higher apes, the critics love good songs about jaded romanticism. On all of these counts the Replacements fill the bill.

Not surprisingly, then, the Mats finished a strong second to the Talking Heads in this year's *Village Voice* Pazz and Jop critics' poll after winding up near the top of the hipster scribblers' straw total last year with their *Let It Be*. Finishing second to Talking Heads is no disgrace. And it was about time the critics went head over heels over the Heads after their first million-selling album *Little Creatures* and their universally raved concert film *Stop Making Sense*. Not to mention that head Head David Byrne has collaborated with all the *haute-couture* hotshots: avant hoover Twyla Tharp, theater auteur Robert Wilson, minimalist composer Philip Glass, aural wallpaper hanger Brian Eno. In short, all the pop-culture aristocrats.

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